THE 1

Whole Proceedings of the Siege of *Drogheda* in IRELAND,

With a thankfull Remembrance for its wonderfull delivery.

Raiſed with GODS ſpeciall aſſiſtance by the Prayers, and ſole valour of the beſieged,

With a Relation of ſuch memorable paſſages as have falne out there, and in the parts neer adjoyning ſince this late Rebellion.

Written by *Nicholas Bernard*, Deane of *Ardagh* in *Ireland*.

This ſhall be written for thoſe that come after, and the people which ſhall be born ſhall praiſe the Lord, Pſal.102.18.

So that men ſhall ſpeak of the might of thy marvellous acts: and I will alſo tell of his greatneſſe, Pſal.145 6.

LONDON,
Printed by *A.N.* for *William Bladen*, 1642.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

IT is ordered this fourteenth day of July 1642, by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons in Parlament concerning printing, that this Book intituled the ſiege of Drogheda in Ireland, &c. be forthwith Printed, and that the ſame be printed by *W. Bladen*, and that this Booke be not printed nor reprinted by any other without his conſent.

John White.

To the honorable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the houſe of Commons now aſſembled in Parliament in *England.*

NAture teacheth every thing to affect its owne preſervation, and Reaſon for the ſame end, compels this Book under your *Honourable Patronage*, whether it tends as to its proper *Centre*, in the maturity of whoſe *wiſe and pious reſolutions* reſts terrour and dread to the Rebels, and the only hope of reliefe to our miſerable diſtreſſes in the Kingdom of *Ireland*: and to be *a the Repayrer of the Breach, and the Reſtorer of Paths to dwell in*, is ſo Honourable a Title, that there can be no greater invitation. a Iſa. 58. 12.

That application of * *Baronius* (in his exhortative to *Paul* the fifth) of thoſe two commands given to Saint *Peter*, *b Feed my ſheep*, *c kill and eat*, i.e. (ſaith he) *preſerve the Catholicks*, and *kill the Hereticks*, have been in their interpretation the ſumme of the popiſh bloudy *Conſpiracie* for this Kingdome, for the extirpation of which *Idolatrous* rout, howſoever wee finde there needs no farther incitement then your own *Religious*, zealous inclinations, yet wee cannot but humbly declare our affections to it alſo (*they like a viperous ſeed* having endeavoured to eat out the hearts of ſuch as nouriſhed them,) That *wee would* in a faire medicinall way *have healed Babylon* cannot be gain-ſaid, but proving ſuch a *fretting gangreen*, what help is there but an amputation.

* Vid. Melchior. Goldaſt. Haminsfeld. collect. author. de poteſtate Imperat. ac Papæ.

b Ioh. 21. 17

c Acts 11. 17

What charitable acts, courteous carriage, friendly informations we have over-flowed with to them, and what ill fruits have been produced from them towards us, needs no further witneſſe, ſo that for the moſt moderate of them, at leaſt a *compelle intrare*, can be their onely favourable expectation, Which how-

howſoever Saint *d Auguſtine had bin once a-gainſt*, yet *upon the experience of that good iſſue, it had in cleering his own Citie* Hippo *of* Hereſie, *and other parts, he changed his mind in urging it.*

This *e Merula* indeed applyes to us, and by the example of this Father, exhorts the *Emperour* and *Princes* of *Germanie*, to alter their courſe in a preſent ſuppreſſing the Religion of the Reformed Churches. But *Becanus* the Ieſuit proceedeth further to move them without any more adoe to the *killing of us*, (whom he aſperſeth with the blot of *Hereſie*) after the example of *Moſes* ſo condemning the *worſhippers of the golden Calfe*, the *hanging up the heads of the people at Baal peor, by Elias, Iehu, in ſlaying the prieſts of Baal.* And after the applying to us thoſe mortall precepts in the

d Mea primitus Sententia erat neminem ad unitatem Chriſti cogendum, non dum enim expertus eram quantum mali eorum (*viz. Donatiſtarum*) auderet impunitas. At hæc opinio mea demonſtrantium ſuperabatur exemplis: nam primo appohebatur mihi *civitas mea*, quæ cum tota eſſet in parte Donati ad unitatem Catholicam *Timore Legum Imperialium* converſa eſt, quem nunc videmus ita hujus veſtræ animoſitatis perniciem deteſtare, ut in ea nunquam fuiſſe credatur, & multas alias civitates &c. *Auguſt. Epiſt.* 48. *ad Vincentium*: Videlicet ibidem gratulationes & gratiarum actiones eorum qui ab Hæreſi timore legum redierunt. Objectiones ſolvuntur. *Epiſt.* 50. *ad Bonifacium lib.* 2. *contra Petilianum. c.* 83. *Lib.* 1. *contra Gaudentium cap.* 9. & 24. *Lib.* 1. *contra Parmen. cap.* 10. *lib. de Vnitate Eccleſiæ cap.* 20. e Sent. *Auguſt.* (num Heterodoxi metu pœnarum ad fidem Catholicam cogi poſſunt) collecta a *Matth. Merula. vide cap.* 7. in concluſione, cum cohortatione ad Zelum contra Sectarios hujus temporis.

Law

Law against *f Blasphemers*, *g Disobeyers of the chief Priest*, and *h enticers to serve other gods*, and answers of all pleas that might be alleaged for our toleration, concludes, *i Wee ought to be slain rather then thieves or murtherers, as being far more pernicious to Church and Common-wealth*. Nay, *Scioppius* in his *Classicum Belli sacri*, chatges the *Emperour* with it as his duty, to slay our very *k Children and infants, after the example of Sauls command for Amaleck*, and the *Israelites for the Cananites, that he should not spare neither his eye have pitie. l Denounceth a-*

f Lev.24.16
g Deut.17.12.
h Deut.13.14.
i Haretici magis perturbant pacem Christianam quam homicidæ & fures, at hi puniuntur pœnacapitis, ergo multo magis illi qui sunt pernitiosiores.

Nam cum pax Christiana sit duplex, *Ecclesiastica* & *Politica*: Homicidæ & fures tantum perturbant politicam, Hæretici utramque. *Mart. Becan. cap. 15. de pœnis Hæreticorum, quæst. 1.* k *Saul* hujusmodi mandatum accepit, *Percute* Amaleck *interfice a viro usque ad mulierem, & parvulum & lactantem.* Nota infantes Hæreticorum Deus occidi & jubeat, ne adultiores facti patrum scelere implicentur, in ô *Deut.* cap. 13. 9. 15. *STATIM* percutias, &c. *Non audias, neque parcat ei oculus tuus ut misereatur*: sic Imperator, interficere debes quemcunque &c. idque statim ut *David in Psal.* 101. *in matutino interficiebam* (hoc est) ut exerti fuerant, *disperderem* i.e. ut nullus inveniretur p. 12. 18 19 79. 83. l Nulla re gravius Deum offendere potest *Cæsar* quam parcendo Hæreticis bello captis: exemplo *Saulis*, 1 *Sam.* 15. 22. Ergo monitus es etiam atque etiam *Imperator*, ut si quando tuos & Dei perduelles divino & humano jure mori jussos, in potestatem tuam redegeris, si eis parcas, & gladium in vindictam malorum tibi datum, sic feriatur, geras, si mitiore quam *Saul* pœna afficiaris, saltem ut quod Regi *Achab* fatalem ob causam Deus cominatus fuerit, in te tuasque aliquando sentias, periculum est, *pag.* 80. 78. Terreat te *Imperator* confecta Regis *Ieiesphat* classis, *eurique Indici* jactura: terreat te illa *Prophetæ* vox. 2 *Par. l.* 19. 2. *cap.* 20. 37. *pag.* 86.

judge-

judgement upon him and his, if hee ſhould ſo much as give any Quarter to the chiefeſt of us, by the warning of Sauls rejection for reſerving Agag, and Ahabs threatning that his life ſhould goe for diſmiſſing of Benhadad. m With Turks and Heathens hee allows him to make a peace, but for us that partake with them in ſome common principles, no plea can be admitted to reprieve us from a *preſent ſlaughter of old and young, not ſaving alive any that breathes*: whom elſwhere he terms * *Scorpions*, and therefore to be kild aſſoon as we are born.

Which horrid Counſell is juſtified by n *Windeck*, in the like application and exhor-

m Cum Turcis, Mahumetanis, Ethnicis, Hebræis fœdus tibi facere Imperator licet, ut *Deut.* 20.5. (*Cum civitatibus quæ a te valde procul ſunt fœdus inire poterit, &c.*) non autem cum hæreticis qui vicini ſunt, qui pleraque nobiſcum habeant communia, de his præcepit Deus ut *nullum omnino* permittes vivere, *occidatis omnem animam viventem &c. pag.* 81.82.83. Gaſp. Scioppii conſiliarii Regii Claſſicum belli ſacri ſive *Heldus* redivivus, hoc eſt ad *Carolum* quintum Imperatorem ſuaſoria approbat. authoritat. ſuper. ut omne lectione, & memoria dignum, & omnibus perutile.

* Gaſp. Sciopii *Scorpiacum* i.e. remedium adverſus hæreſes, ab ipſis Proteſtantibus *Scorpionibus* petitum. n Hæreſis cum alte radices egit, non niſi uſtionibus & ſectionibus, ſeu bellorum vi & impetu ac violentia exſcindi debet. Præcipitur, *Deut.* 17. ut qui *ſacerdotis Imperio* de Religionis controverſiis, *ſe non ſubmiſerit interficiatur*. An mitius tractabimus eos qui corrupto Chriſti Evangelio a Catholica fide deficiunt? Quid nos facere convenit niſi ut Zelum imitantes Regum veteris Teſtamenti eos maturè e medio tollamus. Hæc enim laude *Helias*, *Iehu*, & alii celebrantur. Non eſſe crudelitatem occidere Hæreticos ſed pietatem: ſæva eſt clementia parcere, &c. *Ioan. Paul. Windeck.* deliberatio. de extirpandis hæreſibus. *Artic.* 10. & 11.

cation to the *burning*, *killing*, and all other *violent courſe of war* for our extirpation, by the *Preſidents of zealous Kings and Magiſtrates in the old Teſtament*, whom ſuch as are Chriſtians (he ſaith) ought to exceed, accordingly as Hereſie under the Goſpell is the more damnable, concluding all *clemencie* to us to be *cruelty*, and that which might ſeeme cruelty to be *piety*. This, with much of the like, is the *ſentence* they have decreed againſt us in their *Schools*, publiſhed in their *Books*, exhorted *Princes* to in their *Doctrines*, and accordingly made this *Kingdom* the bloudy ſtage wherein they have *acted* it to the full, in murthering and drowning without diſtinction of ſex or age. Now whether theſe *evill ſervants* may not be juſtly *judged out of their owne mouthes*, (whoſe Religion hath bin long agon by the *Biſhops of this Kingdome* decreed to be *Hereticall* and *Apoſtaticall*) or recompenced *according to their own works* upon us, (which have been ſo horrid and barbarous as all *Heathen* and *Turkiſh* ſtory are to ſeek for preſidents) I leave it to your Honorable wiſdoms to determine onely, I am ſure no ſtricter bonds can be taken of them to ſecure us for the future, then

thoſe

thoſe, which they have broken at this preſent, even that *treble* obligation of *nature, oaths,* and *favour,* wherin they are ſtil ſupported by their Clergy, as if *they did God good ſervice.* And indeed what hopes can there be of peace, where a Kingdome is not at one in Religion? which as our wofull *experience* ſheweth it, ſo *reaſon* is ſufficient to evince it, and I am willing to give a *Ieſuite* leave to ſpeak it for me. o *What family* (ſaith he) *was there ever where a difference in Religion made not a breach? ſee it in Iſaac and Iſmael, Iacob* and *Laban, Moſes* and his *wife Zipporah,* and if ſo, *what concord can be expected in a whole Kingdome,* where there is much more diſagreement, *who were neerer a kin then Iſrael and Iudah, but aſſoone as Altar was erected againſt Altar, they were ſoone divided in an irreconcileable war.* The argument mee thinks is probable, onely let the application bee to themſelves, and the endeavours to this Honorable Parliament, ſo to *fan,* and *throughly purge the floore* of this our Church, that there be no ſuch *Cananites* left in the Land, to be

o Nulla unquam familia fuit in qua diſſentiens Religio pacem non turbavit, exemplo ſit diſcordia, inter Iſaac & *Iſhmaelem,* inter Iacob & *Laban,* inter *Moſen* & uxorem *Sephoram,* quomodo ergo in toto Regno pax & concordia ſperari poteſt ubi Religionis & fidei ſumma eſt diſcordia. Qui olim conjunctiores quam *Judei* & Iſraelitæ? At poſtquam altare contra altare, templum contra templum erectum eſt, mox inexpiabili diſſidio diſſecti & diſſociati ſunt. *Becanus, de pœnis Hæreticorum. Quæſt. 6.*

thorns, and *pricks in the eyes* of our posterity hereafter, of whose *Idolatrous* falshood, and *murderous* projects wee in this late besieged Towne of *Drogheda*, (so thirsted for by them) have had too much experience, wherein the service that hath beene performed in the unanimous defence of it, by *my Lord Viscount Moore* (whose laborious vigilancy and large expences in the want of supplyes elsewhere deserves a speciall remembrance:) Sir *Henry Tichburn* our valiant *Governour*, with the rest of our couragious *Captains*, and *Commanders*, may merit a prime place in your honorable favour. A *Collection* of some passages in which (being by many desired as *seasonable* for the present, and *profitable* for the future) I have in the midst of other distractions and employments presumed in this rude forme to present to this Honourable House, whose paternall *bowels* wee find already have *yearned* upon us, and in the continuance of whose indulgent care with an *Application to his Majestie*, all our hopes are deposited, And I doubt not but this poore and meane *offering* shall the rather gaine acceptance, in that it is derived not

from ſuch who have theſe many moneths liv'd the next doore to *Martyrdome*. *GOD*, in his goodneſſe proſper all your deſignes, for for the reducing of this Kingdom to due obedience, *refining* and enlarging of our Church, and the *returning* of a more ſetled peace to this *disjoynted* Iſland, which muſt be the daily *prayers*, and is the *beliefe* of

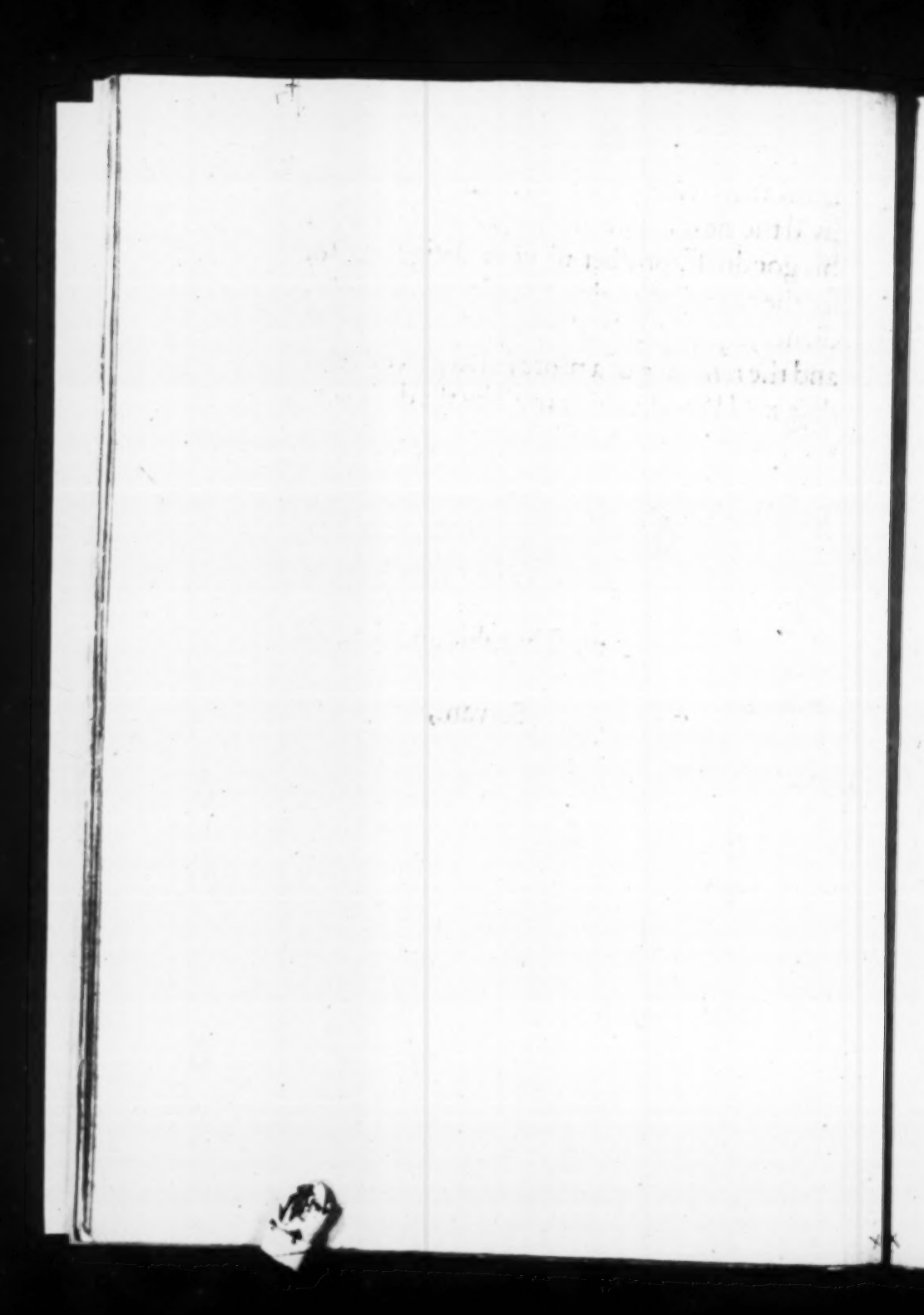
Droghedah, *May*, 25.
1642.

Your Honours

moſt humble and devoted

Servant,

N. BARNARD.



To the Reader.

THou haſt here the earneſt of a ſucceeding bloudy Hiſtory which by ſome other hand hereafter may be perfected, and may well be entitled the *Martyrologue of Ireland*, for the preſent thou mayſt apprehend this Relation, as an *abridgment* of the whole, wherein each of their parts have been in ſome meaſure acted, and by the touch of this pulſe onely in this one member, thou mayſt give the righter judgment of the malignity in the body. This town was for a long time accounted the forlorn hope on both ſides, upon the ſucceſſe of which each built their ſeverall iſſues, As often were we buried in the feare of our friends, as in the boaſts of the Rebels. For a while the Southſide towards *Dublin* remayned cleer, but Northward we heard of nothing but bloud-ſhed, and deſolation, in fifty or ſixty miles compaſſe the houſes of God were deſerted of their Paſtor and people, and poſſeſſed by ſuch as were neither, ſo that we took our ſelves to be onely reſerved either like *Job's* Meſſengers to relate it, or like *Aaron between the living and the dead*, to pray for them, which (as for our ſelves) hath not been in vain, for here the *plague was ſtayed*. And indeed, ſeeing they were ſo preſumptuous as to make *Religion* the cauſe, we joyned iſſue with them, like *Eliiah* with the Prieſts of *Baal*, and God hath anſwered us from Heaven, in accepting our ſacrifices, and rejecting theirs, though they whipt themſelves, till the bloud guſhed out upon them.

For the ſubject matter of this Narration believe it to be true, much I was a witneſſe of my ſelfe, the reſt I have received from men of truſt, the whole hath beene viewed by ſeverall of our Captains, whoſe atteſtation may adde a further ſtrength to thy perſwaſion, and the impartiality of it may be rather credible, as being written by him, who is without the leaſt relation to any. For the ſtyle thou mayſt accept of it according to the diſtractions it was accompanied with, and the haſt I have beene put too, by the ſo many miſtakes and falſhoods printed by others already, wherein my ſelf hath ſuffered none of the leaſt.

If thou ſhalt find the thoughts of theſe Popiſh Projectors, full of horrid Conſpiracies and treacheries, their mouthes of falſhoods and lyes;

their hands defiled with bloud and all their paths tracked with Rebellion, wonder not at it, for tis *no new thing under the Sun*, and hee muſt needs be a ſtranger in the World, that cannot produce multitudes of the like Preſidents before.

Doſt thou finde them in theſe juſtified and encouraged by their teachers? marvell not neither; tis their uſuall doctrine lineally deſcended from their Anceſtors of which I might eaſily preſent thee with a great bundle. On the otherſide, when thou ſhalt read of Gods wonderfull preſerving ſo weak a Towne, ſo many moneths beſieged by ſuch a multitude, in the want of clothes, meat, and money; ſixteen thouſand one night aſſaulting us at once (or if we may believe their owne Liſt, three and twenty thouſand) who by a few were repuls'd with the loſſe of many hundred of theirs, and of ours not one ſo much as hurt: many Sallies made out by little parties in the face of ſuch great bodies, with the like continued ſucceſſe, and that great deliverance of us from five hundred of the chiefeſt of them (having thouſands more attending them at the Gates) who by a treachery, while we were in our beds, had got within our bowels, and ſo continued undeſcryed an houre or two, whoſe ſhout of triumph upon the very Key was our firſt alarum, yet, by the gleanings of a few, were all either ſlaine or routed, and without any conſiderable loſſe of ours. The twice relieveing us in that extremity of ſcarcity, when by all it was conceived impoſſible, in ſo ſudden and ſo fitting a wind and tyde, in every circumſtance appearing to be the very anſwer of our prayers; I ſay, when thou ſhalt meet with theſe, and divers more of the like nature, how eaſily mayſt thou be drawn to confeſſe (as even our Towne papiſts have beene compelled to themſelves) that God hath fought for us, and declared himſelfe to be the Parent of our Religion, by his being ſo tender a Nurſe of it: Howſoever let the experience of Gods handiwork in ſo little a modell, beget a confidence of much more in preſerving the whole Kingdome (now ſo undermined) againſt the gates of all helliſh plots whatſoever. This, or the like fruit is aime of this Relation which obtained, he hath his full deſire, who is

Thine, in him by whom all things conſiſt,

N. Barnard.

Authori, Lectori, Operi.

VVOrthy Divine, which Attribute's as due;
As my reſpects, almoſt preſcrib'd to you;
The wonder-working vertue of your pen,
Buries alive, makes the dead live agen;
Raiſing the proſpect to ſucceeding age
Of Miracles above the Rebels rage:
When that had ſwoln ſo high (like the proud Tower)
No hand could reach it but Diviner power.
And that, by means deſpic'd, ſuppreſt it ſo,
As confuſ'd Babel *fell, or* Jericho.
All times hence learn, no force or councell ſhall
Riſe againſt Hea:en, but for the greater fall.
When God's the object of a truſt, the Whale
Proves Jonah's *bark, the Sea poor* Jacob's *wall.*
Nature ſubmits to him that fram'd it, and
Means with events are both in his command.
A carefull eye through all this Story led,
Will often think it ore unwearied:
And know the glory of the Authour is,
This narrative is Truth's, and Time's, not his..

Some of the ſpeciall Paſſages in this RELATION.

THe many home-bred Treacheries we were delivered from the firſt fortnight by Maſter *Lewis Moores* vigilancy. *pag.* 1

The coming down of Sir *Henry Tichbourns* Regiment, coldly welcomed by the Towne Papiſts, *November* 4th. *pag.* 7.

The *generall Declaration of the Catholikes of* Ireland, *pag.* 8.

The Rebels plundering my Lord *Moores* houſe of *Melliſont*, *p.* 12.

Their many pretended *Treaties* and preſumptuous ſpeeches, *p.* 15.

The defeat of 600. of our foot, at the bridge of *Gillingſtowne*, three miles from us, *p.* 16.

The ſurpriſall of a *Cheſter* barque at the *Skerries*, with Engliſh paſſengers, *pag.* 17.

The Rebels *burning* all our Corne and Hay neere us, *p.* 17.

A skirmiſh at the *Green hills* not halfe a mile from us, where an hundred of them were ſlaine, *p.* 19.

A *Dominican Fryar* ſent from them to demaund the ſurrender of this Towne, *p.* 21.

The *Oath* taken by the Papiſts of this Kingdome as it was delivered us by the ſaid *Fryar*, *p.* 22,

The *Proteſtation* of the Governours and Captains of *Drogheda*, for the keeping of the Town, with an

Oath

Oath taken by them, and offered to thē *Aldermen*, and others, but refuſed, *p.* 23.

The *generall Onſet* by ſixteene thouſand, *December* 20. when not a man of ours was ſo much as hurt *pag.* 25.

The *Motives moving the Catholicks to take Armes*, *pag.* 23.

A treacherous *plot* by the opportunity of a great *Ice* prevented, *p.* 34.

A skirmiſh, *January* 7. when an hundred of the Rebels were killed, and about an hundred forced into the River, with divers the like, *p.* 35.

The miſerable *ſcarcity* of victuals growing upon us, Our welcome *reliefe*, *January* 11. by *Captaine Stutfield*, *pag.* 37.

The wonderfull preſervation of us from the *Invaſion* of five hundred of them, *January* 12. *p.* 38.

The *Pinnace* in her returne *running aground* deſperately attempted by the Rebels, *p.* 42.

Two bragging Letters, one of Sir *Philem O Neals*, and another of *Colonell Plunkets*, *p.* 45.

Divers *Sallies* made out to get in forrage, to the death of multitudes of the Rebels, taking their *Enſignes*, and no loſſe of ours, *p.* 51.

The wofull *extremity* of famine, after the Towne had been ſifted, and all poſſible reliefe neer hand adventured for, *p.* 36.

Our *reliefe the ſecond time*, February 20. wherein Gods ſpeciall hand was evident in divers particulars, *pag.* 57.

The ſame day the Rebels beaten off from our wals when they had mounted many of their *ſcaling ladders*, *pag.* 59.

Divers horrible *cruell acts* committed upon the Engliſh Proteſtants neer us, *pag.* 20.

The killing of *three hundred of the Rebels* at the bridge of *Gillingſtone*, in revenge of the *like* number of ours at the ſame place, *p.* 62.

The burning of *Morlenton* and *Colpe* with divers of the like, and routing them on the *South ſide*, *p.* 64.

March the 5th. Their routing on the *North ſide* at *Tallagh-holland*, when *ſeven* of their *Captains* with *three hundred* others were ſlaine, *p.* 67.

The taking poſſeſſion of *foure* of their *Caſtles* on each ſide of the River: Of the taking of *Atherdee*, about eight miles from us, with the battle there when *foure hundred* of them were killed, *p.* 74.

The admirable providence of God in the quicke taking of *Dundalke*, about 16 miles from us, *March* 26. with which we *accounted* our *Siege* fully raiſed, *pag.* 75.

An *Appendix* of ſome other *occurrences* in the proſecution of our victory ſince, which give ſome light to the former, *pag.* 80.

The Names of the ſeverall Captains, as they came in for our defence at DROGHEDAH.

Octob. 26. 1641.

THe Lord Viſcount *Moore* of *Droghedah*, with his troope of Horſe conſiſting of ſixty ſix.

Sir *John Nettervill*, Captain } With their two half ſtanding Companies,
Rockley, Captain }

Seafowle Gibſon, Captain } His Company of the Engliſh Inhabitants and other Proteſtants were to the number of ſix ſcore.

Novemb. the fourth, 1642.

Sir *Henry Tichburne*, Colonell and Governour of the Town, his Company of Foot.

Sir *John Borlaſe* Captain, } Theſe three, though having beene before
L. Colonel *Byron* Captain, } Officers of the field, yet out of their zeal
L. Colonell *VVenmond* Capt. } to the preſent ſervice came as private
Jacob Lovel, Serjeant Major, who died in the Siege. (Captains.
Captain *Chicheſter Forteſcue*.
Captain *Will. Willoughby*.
Captain *Edw. Billingſley*.
Captain *Lewis Owens*.
Captain *John Morris*.

The Troops of Horſe.

John Sloughter Captaine, Lievtenant to Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Commiſſary Generall.
Thomas Greymes, Lievtenant to Sir *Adam Loftus*.

Novemb. the tenth.

Captain *Henry Bryan.*
Captain *Patrick Trevor.*
Captain *Foulke Martin.*

November the two and twentieth.

Chriſtopher Roper Serjeant Major, } Theſe 3 Captains eſcaped very defe-
Captain *William Cadowgan,* } ctive in their Companies from the
Captain *Charles Sownſley* } defeat at the bridge of *Gellingſton.*
Fifty Horſe, under the command of Sir *Patrick Weymes* Captain, Lieu-
tenant to the Earle of *Ormond.*

February the twentieth with our ſecond relief.

Captain *Richard Borrows.*
Captain *Edward Trevor.*
Captain *William Hamilton.*

When all the aforeſaid Captains (excepting the Regiment of Sir *Henry Tichborne*) were appointed to be under my Lord *Moores* command.

WEE whoſe names are here underwritten, who have been and continued Captains within the Towne of *Droghedah*, during the Siege, and ſo eye-witneſſes of moſt things which have falne out in it, Having duly and diligently read over this Book, entituled, *The Siege of Droghedah*, doe hereby according to the ſeverall times of our comming thither, and according to our beſt remembrance confirme this following Narration to be wholly truth: and do teſtifie it to be in each particular very impartially and fully related. As witneſſe our hands this 11 of *Iune*, 1642.

Seaf. Gibſon. *Rob. Byron.* *Phil. Wenman.*

Io. Slougbter. *Rich. Borrows.* *P. Wemys.*

The Lord Viſcount *Moore* of *Droghedah*, his Confirmation of the truth of this following Narration.

HOwſoever the knowne integrity of the Authour is a ſufficient teſtimony of it ſelfe, yet (having the ſecond time read over this Booke entituled *The Siege of Droghedah*, where I have beene an eye-witneſſe of what hath been done from the beginning of it,) I doe hereby (according to the atteſtation of the ſix other Captains, and in anſwer to the deſire of ſuch as have conceived it neceſſary) confirme this following Relation to be wholly truth, and in each particular to be fully and very impartially written; (onely declining throughout ſuch paſſages as may concern my ſelf.) As Witneſſe my hand this 22 of *June*, 1642.

MOORE.

THE Siege of Drogheda in IRELAND,

OR

A Relation of ſuch memorable paſſages as have faln out here, and the Townes neere adjoyning, from the beginning of this late REBELLION.

THE 23 of *October*, 1641. was the fatall Day pitched upon by the Papiſts of this Kingdome of *Ireland*, with one conſent for the utter ruine of the Proteſtants and the true Religion profeſſed by them here, and doubtleſſe had taken effect accordingly, had not the ſpeciall providence of God prevented it in a timely diſcovery at the root, which was to have ſurprized the Caſtle of *Dublin*, undertaken by the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and as they ſay caſt upon him by ſome ſacred Lot: but that morning he was taken himſelfe and committed cloſe priſoner, where hee had in his thoughts provided the like lodgings for others. The fact was horrid in

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the ayme, desperat in the attempt, crafty in the project, bloudy in the fruits, close in the carriage, undiscryed till the very Eve of the morning for execution, generall in the extent, being a Catholike Cast indeed (like those Romanists for the whole Coat of our Saviour) at the ruine of the whole State at once. This though thus stopped at the head, yet wrought not so full a cure, but that it broke out in deadly issues through most parts of the Body of the Kingdome, into which it is not now my purpose to range, leaving it to the severall relations of others. The chiefe intent of this discourse is to give thee a true account of what hath falne out within this besieged Town of *Drogheda*, wherein I have been cloystered this whole Winter my selfe.

The news of the forsaid discovery posting from *Dublin* hither, was met with the same night by much of the like Nature out of the North, The treacherous surprizall of *Castle Blany*, *Newry*, *Carrick*, *Charlemont*, *Monahan* with others came in thick like *Jobs* messengers one upon another, all confidently assured by their Surprizers that *Dublin* was taken already. These reports howsoever credible enough by the conditions of such who were the Actors, yet the suddennesse of them bred not at first a full perswasion, till wee received a double and treble Confirmation by the flight of many to us stripped, and wounded, in whom wee began then to apprehend the draught of our owne Picture next, but whether by some Skeen abroad or Sword at home, or both, lay in an even ballance, for each man to conjecture.

Our first succour was my Lord Viscount *Moore* being then at *Mellefont*, about three miles from us, who by the sad news of his sister the Lady *Blany*, and her childrens imprisonment, had a warning piece given him of their affection towards himself, came with some part of his Troop, hither at midnight, knockt up the Major and Aldermen, invited them to some speedy resolution for their owne defence, as supposing there might be some Vipers harboured within their own Bowels, they presently promised him very fairly, cursed the Rebels fouly, but made preparation very slowly, Whereas upon Muster dayes they were wont to appeare in many hundreds well armed, now not above forty could be found. Pitchforks marched instead of Pikes and Birding-peeces were taken for Muskets, so that we began to suspect many of them had cursed themselves.

My Lord conceiving his continued presence might be prevalent, instantly had a house prepared, removed his whole Family hither, and (which was our chief strength) guarded us with his troop of Horse, consisting of above threescore, very compleatly provided, caused many old Peeces cast into a blind Dungeon to be drawn out and scoured, at each Gate Northward some to be

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mounted, others planted before them, disburthened a Ship of a Merchants lying at the Habours mouth, of foure more, and with good words drew from them ſome competency of powder, rounded the Town walls, had ſome weak parts further ſtrengthened, The North Port made up ſtrongly, reviewed the two half ſtanding Companies, whereof one was altogether ſuſpected, preſſed the Town to a ſhew of two hundred men, the Major part proving (as wee found them afterwards) but a ſhew indeed.

Having thus for the preſent endeavoured ſuch a defence, as the weakneſſe of the means could afford, and finding the Rebellion ſtill gathering as it rowled, his Lordſhip in a black dark night poſted privatly to *Dublin*, acquainted the State with further danger then they had beene ſenſible of, and of what conſequence the ſafety of this Town muſt needs be, not only for the North but for *Dublin*, and the whole Kingdom, and in the Councell Chamber amongſt divers other Lords made this very exemplary motion, offered to make up his owne troope a full hundred, and to raiſe a hundred foot at his own charges, but it was not accordingly anſwered by others, (though applauded by all) for the preſent all he could obtain was a Commiſſion to Captain *Seafowle Gibſon*, for the command of a hundred men with Armes and Munition ſent down with him the next day, who was no ſooner returned, but (ſuch was the love of the Engliſh Proteſtants Inhabitants to him) that within two houres his Company was full with thoſe Volunteers without preſſing one, who muſtered and took the Watch that night, and indeed could not be eaſed of it many nights afterwards, whoſe continued vigilancy & toyl in aſſiſting my Lord *Moore* from the beginning, deſerves a ſpeciall remembrance, Both of them (before any farther ſuccour came) watcht in their own perſons ten nights together.

By this time the Rebels had taken *Dundalke*, and *Dromiskin*, and had advanced ſo far as to pillage all the Engliſh Proteſtants within five miles of us, whoſe example ſo took with our Neighbours neer us that they endeavoured to prevent them, in making a prey of the reſidue themſelves, miſerable ſpectacles of wealthy men and women utterly ſpoyled and undone, nay ſtripped ſtarke naked, with dolefull cryes came daily flocking in to us by multitudes, upon whom as our bowels could not but yearn, ſo wee failed not to receive with all charitable welcome as comming from the next doore to Martyrdom. Our Papiſt Townſmen made light of it, ſome diſcovering themſelves too far by their ſmiles, being more ready to *fill up the meaſure of that iniquity of their brethren*, then to relieve them, many falſe Allarmes had we by ringing of the Towle ſele Bell, as if the enemy were at the Gates and the time choſen when

we were either going to Church, or at it, as it were of purpoſe to diſturbe us. Their numbers multiplyed beyond all conceit, all which we found afterwards to be but feigned, and ſprung from ſome ill affected within, only to cauſe the greater confuſion. Promiſes of Aſſiſtance daily aſſured us by Letters, and accordingly expected we found ſtill failing us; Our former Governour, Sir *Faithfull Forteſcue* poſting to *Dublin*, and finding further delayes, reſigned up his Commiſſion, and by his diſheartening Letters gave us over, who though willing to hazard his life for us, yet was loath to loſe his reputation alſo.

In the midſt of theſe diſtractions, ſeeing little hope in man, and perceiving our feares within, equalizing our feares without, wee betooke our ſelves to God. I ſent privately to all the Proteſtants in the Towne man by man (being not thought ſafe to give any more publicke notice) preſently to meet at the Church, who with the reſt of the ſtrangers fled to us from the adjoyning Townes, made up a great Congregation; We there ſpent the time in a ſorrowfull confeſſion of our ſinnes, acknowledged Gods Juſtice in their puniſhment, begg'd pardon, implored his ſuccouring of us (who were now for the profeſſion of his name, like the *three children in the fiery furnace,*) and ſo wee entered into a ſolemne vow, and covenant with God, that if in this extremitie, he ſhould in his goodneſſe preſerve ſuch a handfull of us from the multitude of thoſe whom we ſaw were inſtantly ready to ſwallow us, we would be more diligent in *ſerving him in righteouſneſſe and true holineſſe all our dayes*, which was ſealed with ſuch an aboundance of teares that flowed from all ſorts, that we riſe with confidence that he, who had ſo *prepared the heart*, would *open his eare to heare*.

Being incouraged with theſe firſt fruits we appointed a *ſolemne faſt*, ſome three dayes after, when howſoever our meeting was conceived by the chiefe to be very hazardous, (from whom that very morning I received ſome ſuch advertiſement of a ſuſpected *Plot*, by that opportunity,) yet we put our ſelves into Gods hands as our ſole refuge, and with a ſmall guard of Souldiers continued it the whole day, which was bleſſed with the increaſe of our former affections, and ſo from that time forward we kept it weekly.

Immediately we found ſome fruit of our prayers. Plots ſecretly conceiving and neere their birth proved *abortives* by their diſcovery, which ſeeing they had not the heart and ſtrength then to bring forth, I will not be their Midwife to deliver them to the world. Our enemies were more then dared to be knowne, our ſtrength but ſmall and ſoone reckoned yet did very memorably. Great ſucceſſe was given to our Deſignes within as without. My Lo. *Moores* horſe were of neceſſitie put upon ſervice every night, about thirty ſcouted without

without the Walls a mile or two, the reſt guarded the ſtreets, and walked the rounds within, ſometimes as they had intelligence of an opportunitie with ſome foot, they marched out by break of the day, amongſt the thickeſt of the Rebels, but they were ſtill too light of foot, and dared not approach them in any fight, only much ſtollen goods were regained, abundance of cowes recovered and reſtored in the market place to as many as could owne them: about 200. of the Rebells were ſlaine as they were found robbing in divers Companies, about foureſcore brought in as Priſoners, whereof (ſuch was our mercy) but ſix of them were hanged, one of them confeſſed expreſly that his charge was only to robbe the Clergie (which he was taught was not ſo much as a veniall ſinne) and which hee performed accordingly to the vndoing of ſome three or foure many Fryers and Prieſts were buſy in poſting too and fro, till they were ſtopped, ſome upon the pretence that they wanted victualls, craved leave to departe, and were officious in giving the Rebells their Benidictions, who had a quarter of a yeare before enioyned the vulgar one faſting day extraordinary each weeke for the good ſucceſſe of ſome ſpeciall deſigne, for the Catholique cauſe which we dreamed not of, and yet their want appeared evidently to be but feigned, by the charity of the townes-people to the meaneſt Priſoners, whom they not only pitied, and publickly cryed out againſt our hard uſage of ſuch poore harmleſſe people, but were ſo charitable in releeving them with meat and cloathes, that they make little ſuit to be releaſed, then whom it may eaſily be beleeved, their Prieſts and Fryers were of much more value.

Two ſeverall nights I muſt not forget the Relation of: when upon no light grounds we had good cauſe to be ſuſpitious of ſome traps laid for us, one night dangerous ſpeeches were given out, which might beare the expoſition of ſome Maſſacre, one of no meane qualitie was heard to ſay to his neighbour, *This night will be our opportunity*; another in Iriſh to his fellow in the ſtreet, *Now will be the time or never*, which when he ſuſpected an Engliſh Proteſtant over-hearing, and underſtanding him charged him inſtantly with ſilence, ſomewhat was in it, that one of the chiefe of the Towne (who ſeemed to love me truly) wiſht me not to lodge within my owne houſe that night, but to accept of his. About Eleven a clocke as we were expecting ſome miſchiefe, it fell ſo out that a Poſt from *Dublin* brought us the newes, that the *Newry* was taken againe by the *Scots*, which being ſo confidently affirmed, and inſtantly rumoured through the Towne, I verily beleeve did us good ſervice, though it proved but like the furniſhed noyſe of a great hoaſt in the Syrians eares, which broke up the ſiege of *Samaria*, howſoever the preſent be-

leese of it tooke that effect, that the Countenances of the Townſ-men were apparently altered; The next morning in their courteous carriage to the Captaines and Officers to whom the day before they could not diſſemble a good looke.

But when upon inquirie they had found this newes to be but Counterfeit coyne, they returned againe to the Deſigne of another night worke (when a Lords Sonne, and a noted Papiſt, being then by his turne with the Towne Armes, and his owne ſtanding Company Captaine of the Watch) there was ſome further attempt given (as being the laſt night of any hope, knowing that a thouſand men were upon their march within eight miles of us, and would not faile to be with us the next.) At a houſe over againſt the main Guard where his owne men were, hee tooke ſome ſmall occaſion to quarrell, and with baſe language to abuſe my Lord *Moore*. (who wiſely bauked it as conceiving that time of the night not to be ſeaſonable for an uproare.) *Commended the Rebels, maintained that they were not Rebels*, and the like; Nay, proceeded ſo farre as twice to aske his Lievtenant (being a Proteſtant) *What ſide hee would be of, if there were any Commotion.* In fine, it was ſo apprehended by all the Commanders in the roome, that they preſently ſtood upon their Guards with their Piſtols ſpanned under their cloakes expecting ſome Watch-word from him either to the maine Guard, or to ſome other confederates unknowne elſe-where. And for prevention, ſome ſtrucke betwixt him and the Window towards the ſtreet; My Lord *Moores* horſe were privately drawne up, ten ſtood alwayes before the doore, and the reſt in ſeverall diviſions guarded the ſtreets to keepe all within. The Proteſtant Engliſh Souldiers to the number of Seven ſcore, were ſilently called up alſo, which when he perceived, he did his beſt to make up things againe, but they had gone too farre to be ſo eaſily cured, and there were other circumſtances not long before, which made the ſuſpition ſmell the ſtronger, as his changing many of his foot Company from Proteſtants to Papiſts, and thoſe to be of his owne ſervants and Tenants; Moſt nights when he and the Towne had the Watch, the Peeces mounted upon the Gates, were found ſtopped with Garlicke of purpoſe to breake them; that whole day was he continually paſſing from one Fryerie to another, whether for *Benedictions*, or *Conſultations* wee wot not, and that very night he went his firſt round as Captaine of the Watch (which then was only for the North ſide) and might have beene diſpatched in halfe an houre, he was above three houres before his returne, altogether confirming our jealouſies in his being now laying the *traine*, and diſpoſing of all things for the perfection of ſome Treacherie. But doubtleſſe had the Enemie kept his houre,

and

and according as was threatned and expected approched the wals that night, things had not beene so concluded. But thanks be to God who *tooke of the wheels* of their resolutions, that the *mischiefe that they had devised*, they had not the courage to drive on to any perfection.

In the midst of these distractions, whereas others with good cause were deserted of their Pastors, I was deserted of my Congregation: most of the better sort fled to Sea, and with very affectionate expressions entreated me to the like, presuming by the barbarous cruell usage of others of the Clergie my danger to exceed theirs, those who could not flie came about mee for the contrary; I was soon resolved (as indeed never admitting any other inclination) not to leave them in their misery, but to live and die with them, remembring that of our Saviour, that the Shepherd should hazard *his life for his sheep*, as that of Saint *Ambrose* to *Iustina* the Empresse when he was commanded either to receive the *Arrians*, or to leave *Millain* answered, *Non prodam lupis gregem mihi commissum, hic occide, si libet,*

But one of the chiefest cares that lay upon me even more then my life, was that great treasure of my Lord *Primates* Library, which I had the happinesse to be trusted with in his absence. Wee heard of the daily rudenesse of the vulgar in burning and cutting in pieces the papers and books of such of the Clergy already made a prey of (as in especiall the Bishop of *Meaths*, and the Lord *Conways* Library) the Manuscripts howsoever invaluable, yet by their mean clothing likely to be least respected by such illiterate hands. No Barques left in the harbour to remove them, the best course which the misery and necessity of that time would afford was not neglected, but none could promise safety. At length God who useth to be then most seen in helping when al sence faileth allaid much of this and our other feares by sending us a competent strength of a thousand foot, and a hundred horse with able Captaines under the command of Sir *Henry Tichburne* who was also made Governour of the Towne, whom as long expected, so was *November* the fourth joyfully received by us, But by the Town as coldly and discourteously, making him to wait for his lodging till nine a clock at night in the street (though come in by two) and at length was compelled by his own Authority to provide one himselfe, with divers other particulars which I will not trouble the Reader with. But it was so resented, that howsoever the Town Armes offered their service that night, yet it was rejected, and notwithstanding the wet, long, and heavy march that day, three hundred of the Souldiers were drawn out of the severall Companies to continue the Watch that night, wherein our vigilant Governour took a voluntary share himselfe also.

The

The next day being the fifth of *November*, and the thankfull remembrance for our delivery from the Papists Conspiracy in *England* we kept it solemnly with an addition of the like for our preservation in part from this also, which though it were the younger sister, yet being in its own Countrey got the prehemminence.

Before it was not well taken to call it Rebellion, but only the act of some discontented Gentlemen. But now we took heart to speak as we thought; To this Regiment the State was pleased not long after to adde three Companies more, so that now besides the Town Arms, we were fifteen hundred foot, and a hundred and threescore horse, by which our feares of meeting daily at the Church were cured and we encouraged to double our weekly Fasts, when by turns each division of the Regiment might partake of one and by our frequent admonitions endevoured to prevent those vices usually incident to Souldiers, as also in regard that by their continuall Watches they could not attend the publike Prayers offered twice every day in the Church where (as best agreeing with our present estate) wee used that forme appointed in King *Iames* his Reigne, (when all the Reformed Churches were conceived to be in the like danger. *Anno* 1628.) by the assistance of some of my Brethren here, each part had it (with one fitted to our present condition) upon their Guards evening and morning, and there was reason that where Religion was the cause, the better successe might be expected, if it could be infused into the defenders of it.

Not many nights after here crept out in the twilight this following Declaration, framed as it appeares upon the presumption the thing contrived had been effected, which was found in the streets and by the wax at each corner seemed to have beene some where affixed. And howsoever wee had seene before some other imperfect ones, yet by the draught and fairnesse of the hand with other circumstances wee apprehended this to be the most authenticall.

The Generall Declaration of the Catholickes of Ireland.

WHereas we the Roman Catholiks of this Kingdom of *Ireland* have been continually loving and faithfull subjects to his Sacred Majesty, and notwithstanding the generall and heavy oppressions suffered by subordinate Governours to the ruine of our lives, honours, and estates, yet

yet having ſome liberty of Religion from his Majeſty out of the affluence of his Princely love to us wee weighing not corporall loſſe in reſpect of th great immunity of the ſoule, are inviolably reſolved to infix our ſelves in an immutable and pure allegiance for ever to his Royall Majeſty and Succeſſours.

Now it is that the Parliament of *England*, maligning and envying any graces received from his Majeſty by our Nation, and knowing none ſo deſired of us as that of Religion, and likewiſe perceiving his Majeſty to be inclined to give us the liberty of the ſame, drew his Majeſties Prerogative out of his hands thereby largly pretending the generall good of his Majeſties Kingdomes. But wee the ſaid Catholicks and loyall Subjects to his Majeſty doe probably find as well by ſome Acts to paſſe by them the ſaid Parliament touching our Religion, in which the Catholicks of *England* and *Scotland* did ſuffer. As alſo by threats to ſend over the Scottiſh Army with the Sword and Bible in hand againſt us, That their whole and ſtudied plot both was and is, not only to extinguiſh Religion (by which we only live happily) but alſo likewiſe to ſupplant us and raze the name of Catholicks and Iriſh out of the whole Kingdome. And ſeeing this ſurprize ſo dangerous, tending abſolutely to the overthrow of the liberty of our conſciences, and Countrey, and alſo our gracious Kings power forced from him, in which and in whoſe prudent care of us our ſole quiet and comfort conſiſted, and without which the feare of our preſent ruines did preſcribe opinion, and premoniſh us, to ſave our ſelves.

We therefore as well to regain his Majeſties ſaid Prerogative being only due to him and his ſucceſſours, and being the eſſence and life of Monarchy, hoping thereby to continue a ſtrong and invincible unity, between his Royall and ever happy love to us, and our faithfull duty and loyalty to his incomparable Majeſty, have taken Arms and poſſeſſed our ſelves of the beſt and ſtrongeſt Forts of this Kingdome, to enable us to ſerve his Majeſty and defend us from the tyrannous reſolution of our Enemies.

This in our conſciences as wee wiſh the peace of the ſame to our ſelves and our poſterity is the pretence and true cauſe of our preſent riſing in Arms, by which we are reſolved to perfect the advancement of truth, and ſafety of our King and Countrey. Thus much we thought fit in generall to publiſh to the world, to ſet forth our innocent and juſt cauſe, the particulars whereof ſhal be ſpeedily declared. *Dated* October 23. 1641.

God ſave the King.

After the Souldiers in ſome good order were quartered Sir *Henry Tichburne* our Governour took a diligent view of the Wals: Conſultations were had for the better fortifying of them. The *Mill-Mount* conceived a very defenſive place, for the guard of *Meath-ſide*, the weaker part of the Town, and ſo accordingly were mounted foure peeces of Ordnance, and there ſoone appeared good cauſe for this preparation, The whole County of *Louth* (ſcarce a Gentleman that was a Papiſt excepted) were drawn into this Conſpiracie, ſo that we were beſet on that ſide Northward with five thouſand, or as their owne liſt reported it eight thouſand. The infection did ſo ſpread, that it not only tainted, but broke out in the faces and lips of ſome of our Aldermen, one *Stanley* (who was a Town Burgeſſe for the Parliament) took himſelf highly promoted to be a Captaine with them; others who not long before ſeemed to doe good ſervice in the diſcovery of the like (whoſe Letters I had ſeene deeply exclayming againſt thoſe courſes) now ran the ſame way alſo; Nay, the very Sheriffe of the County (who had beene ſo favoured as to continue Knight of the Shire alſo) was a Leader in that Rebellion too, He with *Stanley* came in hither often upon protection as joynt Commiſſioners from the Rebels upon ſome pretended Treaties, whom howſoever for ſome reaſons according to a Commiſſion for that purpoſe, it was not thought amiſſe to protract things by ſuch like parleys, yet we gave little heed to any thing they ſaid, being perſwaded which way ſo ever they looked they rowed another. The ſubject of much of their diſcourſe was a deſire to doe the Town good ſervice which might be the more credible in regard of ſome eſtates they had in it. Their extraordinary affection to my Lord *Moore* and his Family, inviting him for his ſafety to retreat to *Mellifont* againe, or if that were not ſure enough, a ſtronger Caſtle was offered him, as divers letters to that purpoſe I have often ſeen from many, remembring him of the ſecurity his Father lived in at that ſame place during all *Tyron's* Rebellion, and therefore his ſonne who had deſerved better of them, could not but be confident of the ſame. Nay, proffered to make him Generall, at leaſt of all *Meath* and *Louth*, That what ever loſſes himſelfe, or tenants had ſuſtained ſhould all bee repaid to a peny, which was often ſeconded by divers other Agents. But the depth of all (as the following fruits declare) was but to have made a prey of him, and his, and ſo to have weakned the Towne of an active and zealous ſupporter, who ſtill as before was very forward to give the life to every deſigne for its 'preparation', which had appeared in giving a ſtop to many of their crafty Plots by the way here. Before this Regiment came to us, at the earneſt requeſt of the ſaid Sheriffe of *Louth*, the State was

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ſo farre moved as to ſend down three hundred Arms, for the defence of that County (who had not then declared themſelves) with about fourty more for the Guard of *Dundalke*, but the ſuſpition of their treachery ſenting ſtronger here then poſſibly it might 20. miles further were by my Lord *Moore* ſtopped in their paſſage. The Lords Juſtices having likewiſe about a fortnight before ſent five hundred Armes to the Lord *Gormanſtones* houſe, about five miles from us, at his Petition for the arming of *Meath*, upon whoſe fidelity they ſtill preſumed, according to the patterne of their Anceſtors, yet now receiving an intimation of ſome plot of the Rebels to ſurpriſe them, were under the care of Lord Colonell *Wauman* ſafely conveyed hither, with whom there came alſo a Fortnights Pay for the Regiment, but was not ſupplyed with any more money in twenty two weekes after, which as the former offer of the ſtate aggravates the falſhood of the Rebels: ſo this later advanceth the honour of this ſervice here, in their ſo zealous continuing their unanimous defence of this Towne, notwithſtanding ſo little encouragement.

The Parliament time now drawing on, my Lord *Moore* was neceſſitated to a ſecond journey to *Dublin*, where as he was not backward in a free and full declaring himſelfe againſt ſome Excuſers of this Rebellion, ſo was he not unmindfull of this Towne, and Countrey adjoyning; But propounded a ſecond motion, exceeding the former, *viz.* that ſeeing Sir *Henry Tichburnes* Regiment conſiſting but of one thouſand Foot, and one hundred Horſe, was not of that number and ſtrength, as to ſecure the Towne, and to iſſue farre out for the prevention of any further approach of the Enemy; *Hee offered to raiſe five hundred men more at his owne charges, to cloath them and give them pay till a ſupply of moneys ſhould be ſent out of* England, *conditionally that the foure Companies in the Towne, over and above the former, and not yet affixed to any Regiment might be added to his Command to make up a thouſand.* By which *Dundalke*, *Atherdee*, and the whole County of *Louth* might poſſibly have beene ſecured. But it was not ſo readily accepted as it merited. Thus by this forward and Noble offer, his affection to the cauſe being fully diſcovered, and being (as I have been enformed) the only Lord in the *Pale* (excepting the Earle of *Kildare*, and the Lord of *Hoath*) who was a Proteſtant, the malice of the Rebels was further inraged, and preſently tooke the advantage of his abſence, to draw up to his houſe of *Mellifont*, to the utter ſpoyling and pillaging of it, as will appeare by the Relation following, which diſaſter hee hath beene ſince aſſured by them, was the fruit of his former motions, as being done the next day after his returne.

Of the Rebels Plundering the Houſe of Mellifont, *and their cruell Barbarous dealings there,* Novemb. 25. 1641.

UPon the one and twentieth of *Novemb.* being Sunday, as we were going to Church in the morning, there came a rumour to our Governour of the Rebels intention to beſet *Mellifont*, about three miles from us; Whereupon he preſently was ſending out to the former ſtrength there a further ſupply of two hundred Foot, and a troope of Horſe; But as the Drums were beating, there marched downe the hill of *Tallihaſcot*, about two miles from us Northward a thouſand men, (as they ſeemed) giving many ſhot as they came; This gave a ſtop to the iſſuing out of the former forces, as interpreting by that and other Circumſtances their aime was rather to ſurpriſe the Towne, but by the iſſue it appeared the plot was only to divert us, there being at that ſame inſtant about Fifteene hundred from other parts drawing towards *Mellifont*. The force left there to defend it againſt ſome Pilferers, beſides a few ſervants of the houſe, was only twenty foure Muſquettiers, and fifteene Horſe, two Scouts they had abroad, one of whom was cut off, the other purſued to the very Gates; about an houre before their comming *Mac-Maghon* ſent a note (which I ſaw) to the *Warders of the houſe* (as hee ſtiled them) that if they would give it up, they ſhould have quarter, and withall a Bullet for a token.

The quarter-maſter of the Troope returned a ſhort anſwer, they would all dye rather then yeeld, and a bold Scotch-man ſtanding by, bid the meſſenger to adviſe his Maſter to make his Bullets bigger. Many meſſengers were with all expedition diſpatched hither with letters ſowed up in their cloathes, for the ſafer conveyance, but we heard not of them. All wayes being thus ſtopped, and finding no hope of any further reliefe, they prepared themſelves for their owne defence, for any promiſe of quarter, by the experience of their falſhoods to others they gave little credit to; They accounted themſelves but dead men, and ſo were reſolved to ſell their lives at as deare a rate as they could, ſhooke hands, and incouraged one another. The Enemies Horſe and Pike were placed upon the top of the hill, amongſt whom is confeſſed were ſome, who not many dayes before profeſſed the quite contrary. Their Foote marched over the Garden ſides in multitudes, whom theſe few of ours ſo received, that they fell all backe about fourty yards, and ſo accordingly retreated

ed foure or five times; In briefe, they killed ſevenſcore of them, and had made them up ſo many hundreds, but for want of Powder, having at the moſt but Sixe ſhot, ſome but Foure; not a man of them was hurt till all was ſpent, they had cut their Bullets into halfes, and to make even with their Powder, they rammed in five or ſixe together, whereby each ſhot was the death of many, and in concluſion when all was ſpent, they broke as many Muskets as they could againſt the walls. The Serjeant who had the command of the Foot behaved himſelfe very valiantly, by the Confeſſion of the Enemy, and at their entrance ſlue many with his Halbert. Halfe a dozen placed in a little outward Caſtle killed ſome of them, as they were marching downe the hill, amongſt whom was one of the chiefe Captaines, in rich ſtolne cloathes, at whoſe fall there was a great cry. Theſe at laſt being promiſed quarter, and yeelding, yet they wounded, and threw them out at the windowes.

The Horſe who could doe but little good within, when they ſaw them preſſing ſo thicke to the very Gates, opened them, and gave them a deſperate Charge, and ſo made their way through them, though by their purſuers ſcattered divers wayes before they came hither. The number of the ſlaine in all of our ſide were thirteene (whom a Fryer (for none of our Clergie durſt venture thither) was ſo forward for a deed of Charity, as to procure them buriall in the Church adjoyning, and one man finding life in him (notwithſtanding at leaſt fourty wounds) brought him home on a Carre; The courſe they tooke with him was the ſame they did with others, they firſt ſtript him, leſt he ſhould bloudy his cloathes, and then a dozen of them together run him through, and hacked him with their Skeenes, leaving him for dead. But the moſt barbarous act was the killing of a grave comely old Gentleman, of above foureſcore yeares of age, who after he had opened the Wine-ſeller, and was giving them all poſſible courteous entertainment, and filling wine to them, of a ſudden run him through. A poore old blind man that had beene the Porter (who could make no reſiſtance) they knockt downe; another as old as he they cut his throat, ſo inraged, that they ſlew the very dogs they found, broke the windowes, tooke up divers of the Plankes in the Chambers to ſeeke for moneys, ſearched the peoples mouthes for it, ript the Featherbeds to take away the Tikes, carried away the Hangings, and other furniture that was portable, cut in peeces all the Coverings of the Chaires and Stooles, (many of which were very rich) broke with their Clubs a Cloſet of Glaſſes, and Gallipots full of ſuch Ingredients as they were incapable of, tooke away abundance of proviſion in the houſe, of Cattell and Horſes abroad, and what they could not carry they deſtroyed, to the loſſe of my Lord

Moore, at leaſt 2000. pounds. The faire Haggard of Corne they thraſhed and tooke away afterwards by leaſure; The Women they ſtripped all ſtarke naked; The Chappell they made their quaffing roome, broke the Pulpit, and all the ſeates, threw a faire Church Bible into the Mill-Pond, broke the very Bell; Their beſt language to them all was Engliſh dogs, Whoores and Rogues, Heretiques and the like.

After the departure of theſe came a ruder troope of the baſer ſort of Churles, ſome of the very Tenants and neere neighbours, who drew away the Iron, and Braſſe, and other wooden lumber, leaving not ſo much as a doore, or Iron bar in the windowes; And ſo of a moſt pleaſant habitation in one night, became a moſt ruinous deſolate place. By all which may eaſily be judged the truth of their former promiſes, if the owners had been ſo perſwaded, as to have truſted their owne perſons there alſo, who (as we have had late credible information) were entered in the firſt Liſt among ſuch as ſhould have him ſurprized, but ſuch as were truſted with it had not the Courage to attempt it, as the like care was taken of this Towne alſo; And yet one merry paſſage concluded this Tragedy, by a Basket of *Tulips*, and other ſuch like rootes, which theſe Rebels finding ſo carefully laid up, tooke them for ſome rare dainties, and ſo fell to eating them with butter, which had that preſent operation, that for a weeke after moſt of them deemed themſelves poyſoned, and curſed the Heretiques, as if that bait had been laid there of purpoſe.

After this they yet deſiſted not to multiply their parleys daily, and in regard my Lord *Moore* was one of the Lords authoriſed by Parliament to treat with them, they more thick than before applied themſelves to him, renuing ſtill their former proteſtations of love to him and his, wiſhed him to leave the Towne for his owne ſafetie, preſſed their former honourable offer to make him their Generall, that full ſatisfaction ſhould be given him for his loſſes at *Mellifont*, (though I beleeve many of their eſtates could ſcarce have compaſſed it.) And to cleere themſelves of that hatefull aſpertion of Rebellion aſſured him to ſhow that good warrant for what they did, which ſhould give all the world ſatisfaction, importuned him very earneſtly for a meeting. The place and time agreed upon his Lordſhip with ſome few adventured out of the Gates, but in ſtead of them found ſome ſtragling fellowes gathering, which gave him juſt cauſe to ſuſpect ſome treachery, and ſo retreated, (which ſince he hath been aſſured of.) Yet that night they came to the Gates to excuſe it, and upon promiſe of ſafetie entered, but neither ſpake nor ſhewed any thing to the purpoſe, ſtill confirming our opinions of them to be *falſe accuſers*, and *ſpeakers evill of dignities*

nities, utterers of great ſwelling words of vanitie, and Inventors *of lyes and hypocriſie,* according to which wee ever found their continuance. And yet to put an end to thoſe ſhadowy pretences, a motion was made of ceſſation of Armes, till a Meſſenger were ſent from each withall expedition into *Scotland*, and ſo to proceed according to the return of the Kings pleaſure, but they could not heare of that eare neither, though ſome anſwered they had ſent one of their own already for the ſame end, which yet wee weighed in as light a belief as the other.

Some ſcattered ſpeeches have I heard fall from them, ſcarce worth the gathering up, they talked a little confuſedly of the Kings Prerogative, of an Act paſſing in *England*, that every Papiſt ſhould be preſently hanged. That they would have the Lord Deputy be always of the Iriſh birth, of their former heavy preſſures, freedome of their Religion and the like, the later of which they very preſumptuouſly and confidently avouched.

Often have I heard them acknowledge (which wee knew very well our ſelves) that many of the Prieſts and Friers have been the chiefe movers of them. Our Alderman Captaine ſayed a Fryer lately came from *Spaine*, threatned him, if he did not readily joyne with them, hee ſhould preſently have his head ſtruck off and hanged behind him, whom yet, wee knew, needed no ſuch ſpur to put him forward. Nay, hee acknowledged that a titular Popiſh Biſhop of theirs made a large Oration unto them by way of incouragment in this Rebellion, aſſuring them they ſhould all be ſaved and reputed as Martyrs that died in that quarrell. One *Dowdal* of *Killalee* confeſſed that when his Brother went firſt out, his own mother upon her knees diſſwaded him but a Prieſt urged him to it and prevailed, whoſe example himſelfe not long after followed.

After this wee had a rumour of *O Relyes* advancing this way wards, from the County of *Cavan*, The day before whoſe comming to *Platten* (a Caſtle within two miles of us) one *Darcy*, the Maſter of it, was ſo courteous as with great proteſtations of welcome ſolemnly to invite moſt of our Captains to a Feaſt thither, which if obtained, they had beene all handſomly cooched in a ſnare by him.

This *Rely* having taken *Kels*, *Arbracen*, the *Navan*, wee might eaſily foreſee a poſſibility of beſetting us on the Southſide alſo toward *Dublin*: whereupon our Governour intreated the State to a further ſupply, who after a long expectation ſent it downe, but unfortunatly the foot miſcarried by the way as followeth.

Of

Of the defeat of six hundred foot, with their Ammunition at the Bridge of Gillingſtone, *within three miles of* Droheda.

ON Saturday the two and twentieth of *November*, ſix hundred Foot and fifty Horſe ſet out of *Dublin*, but ſo late that they marched but ſix miles, to *Swords* which as ſoone as wee underſtood, a Poſt was ſent from hence to warn them to mend their pace and not to faile of reaching hither, the next day, both for their own ſafety and ours, and in expectation of them accordingly our Governour iſſued out with a competent force of Foot, and Horſe to meet them, but the Souldiers mutined againſt their Commanders, and would not march any further then *Balrudbery* (which was but ſix miles more) though they were offered double pay to invite them through. The next day being the twenty third of *November*, a little on this ſide the Bridge of *Gillingſtone*, (when they thought all danger was paſt) in a great ſtubble field they were met with by at leaſt 2000 of the Enemy, who (being a mighty fog) were within Muſket ſhot before they were diſcryed.

The Captains preſently began to draw up their men into a Battalia, and entred the field, The Souldiers ſeemed at firſt to be over-joyed to meete them, The Rebels making a ſtand, they did ſo alſo, But it ſo fell out as they were ready to give fire, one of the Officers (who dying in the place prevented the like puniſhment for it) commanded a Counter-march, in which they being compelled to take a Ditch were diſordered, and the Enemy judging it a flight gave ſuch a ſhout that frighted them into a further confuſion, and ſo preſently charging them were routed, moſt were ſlaine, many eſcaped hither with their Armes but more without, *two of the Captains were killed*, the other eſcaped with one Enſigne. The fifty Horſe (who were my Lord of *Ormonds*) made their way through them without the hurt of one man. The cauſes of this diſaſter are diverſly pleaded by the Souldiers and Commanders, which I will not take upon mee to determine.

This accident was our greateſt loſſe, and our Enemies gaine, by the large portion of powder, match, armes, and moneys, which were made a prey of, yet ſome good was produced out of this evill, being the occaſi-

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en whereby our foes were diſcerned from ſeeming friends, for till now the Lords of the Pale were Neuters, but upon this ſucceſſe they all inſtantly diſcovered themſelves of what ſtamp they were of, after whoſe Coppy our Townſmen began to improve their hands alſo,

Aſſoon as the Scout that morning brought us the news of the Enemies marching that way, our valiant Governour made out preſently with ſix hundred foot and two troops of horſe, but before he could reach the place, the Rebels were fled with the carriages, as being the mayne thing they aymed at, but that falſhood of our Neighbours on the Northſide of us appeared evidently, two of their Commiſſioners (the Sheriff and our Alderman) were at that inſtant in parley with us, from them, and as ſoone as the certainty of the ill news came, joy might be diſcerned in their ſmiles, who, by much of their diſcourſe to me that morning, it was cleere they were of the Plot: feares they preſently multiplyed upon ſuch as were apt for them, what bloudy fellows they were, and deſperate, giving alſo an aſſurance of a proſecution that night and the like, which in reaſon being probable enough, the whole Regiment ſtood to their Armes, and were appointed their ſeverall Guards upon the firſt Alarme, but they had not the hearts to proceed.

Not long after this, the Rebels took the opportunity of another advantage alſo in the ſurprizall of a *Cheſter* Barke at the *Skerries* whoſe owner upon great preſumptions is believed to have beene corrupted to it by three or foure of our Popiſh Merchants aboard her, who againſt the deſire of the reſt of the Engliſh (which was to have been for *Dublin*, or any other Port) would put in no where but there, and ran her aground alſo, which in regard of the open Harbour, and the fairneſſe of the weather it could not be but a voluntary act. And it further appeared by the mirth of the Merchants as ſoone as ſhe was ſtuck, their preſent violent rifling the Engliſh who had ſome good ſummes of moneys, before any Boat came out from the Rebels, That Barke was fraught with ſome extraordinary proviſion of Powder and Ammunition for them, amongſt which there was a Harquebuſh made of purpoſe at *Cheſter*, at the charge and direction of one of our Town, The Papiſts in her, were welcomed by the kind greeting of the Rebels but the poore Proteſtant Engliſh robd of all they had, their Letters out of *England* intercepted and detained. As ſoone as they were landed deſiring a ſafe conduct hither, the Lord *Netherfield* out of a pretence of favour would not ſuffer them, but ſent them to *Dublin*, aſſuring them he would not fail to take this Town within two days, and then they

would be priſoners again, of which he had ſo ſtrong a perſwaſion that the rumour was confidently given out, and believed in *Dublin*, before the attempt. So ſure did a ſimple Alderman of ours, who was with them expect it, that to mediate for the ſaving of one of their lives, and giving him a ſhilling to carry him to *Dublin*, he compelled the poore man to make over his houſe and what elſe hee had here, thinking to have taken poſſeſſion of it inſtantly, in due forme of Law. Nay, their boaſts then were to this purpoſe, That they might eaſily ſee the cauſe was of God, it had ſo proſpered; that Gods ſpeciall hand was in it in ſo ſudden giving up the Kingdom into the hands of the Catholicks. Which ſince by the contrary event on our ſide, hath been retorted unto them otherwiſe, in our wonderfull delivery from them.

Now were wee fully beſieged on all ſides, blockt up aſwell by Sea as Land, all ways of entercourſe towards *Dublin* ſtopped. Sentinels placed ſo thick night and day, that none could paſſe unſcarched: divers wayes were daily tryed for the ſafe conveyance of Letters, ſome ſowed up in the Collers of their doublets ſoles of Boots, Buttons, in Scarcloaths clapt upon fained ſoares, but ſeldom did any ſcape their ſcrutiny above once. And now upon this confederacy betwixt *Meath* and the County of *Louth*, they began to ſtyle themſelves the Catholick Army.

This proved it high time to adde what elſe could be effected for our ſtrengthening the Town. Breſtworks were made before every Gate, Platforms in ſuch places where the walls were defective, ſome for Sentinels to ſtand on, others for peeces to play upon, abundance of Morning-ſtars (as they call them) terrible weapons upon a wall, a world of Creſcets; to give light in a dark night round about the Towne, an Iron chaine croſſed the River, and which had beene our chiefeſt improvidence) a command to all neer hand to draw in their corn and hay, but was prevented by the Rebels, who about one a clock at night before that reſolution, fired at leaſt a thouſand pounds worth of ſeverall corne at once, a horrid ſight by the grain deſtroyed, horrible by the ſeaſon, but more lamentable as being loſt by the negligence and meere dulneſſe of the Owners, who had been commanded to reduce it, and accordingly all helps offered them for the ſame end, before. By this act which redounded to the loſſe of the whole Town, might eaſily be interpreted their intentions, for the prevention of which (though a little too late) the Souldiers adventured out at ſeverall Ports, and brought in the reſidue that had eſcaped them. And by their example

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we proceeded our ſelves to burn many houſes neer the walls, which they had referred only to ſhelter themſelves in their approaches from the ſhot.

The Skirmiſh at the Green-hils.

December the 3 was the firſt fruits of any skirmiſh between us at S. *Lawrence* Gate and *Weſt* Gate, there iſſued out about 350 foot, and two troops of horſe for the ſecuring ſome carriages, ſent out for Corn at the *Green-hils* about half a mile of, yet it ſo fell out that by ſome notice given to the Enemy by a party of their owne within, a multitude met them unexpectedly halfe way, who (being a mighty fog) were all in Battalia, and within Muſket-ſhot before they were deſcryed, The report of their number by ſuch as had taken a dark view was 3000 (yet ſomewhat miſtaken) who inſtan ly gave ſuch a ſhout that they were judged not much below it, ſome Officers adviſed to a retreat, many of the Horſe (which were Papiſts) in the Reare ran backe with confuſed cryes to diſturbe thoſe that were at the Gates drawing out, reporting as if wee had been beaten already, The carriages were returned, and for haſt of crowding in, filled up the Gate. In the midſt of this confuſion our men being amazed, our reſolute Governour (who muſt have the honour of that days ſervice) preſently light off his Horſe, and led the Foot himſelfe by the equal hazard of whom all were revived and encouraged, Commanded the Muſketiers up the Hill, and the Pikes in that narrow paſſage of the lane to open for the Horſe, and ſo with all expedition made ready.

The Rebels by this had charged us twice, yet hurt not a man. but aſſoon as our Horſe and Foot came up, they gave them at once ſo full and ſatisfactory an anſwer that without any further reply, they gave up the field and ſo betook themſelves to their heels, their cryes being now of another tune, and ſo in our ſight from the walls were they chaſed a mile, or two, (the ſudden breaking up of the miſt being their farther diſcovery) to the loſſe of above two hundred of them, but not one man of ours. The Horſe who in this caſe muſt needs doe the chief ſervice, were by the ditches compelled to divide themſelves, and each tooke a ſeverall path, according as the ſcattered rout led them. Amongſt the ſlaine there was one Prieſt and three Captains, of whom one was neere a kin to the Earle of *Tyrone*, ſome money was got in moſt of their pockets, cloaths, and armes, not a few, This

good ſucceſſe ſo mightily fiesht our ſouldiers, that they were nothing but longing for the ſecond part to the ſame tune.

This night wee looked for a preſent remedy, by an on-ſet from both ſides at once, but it ſeems they had not ſo ſoon digeſted their breakfaſt only not many nights after ſom ſtragling fellows ſtole neere the walls, and adventured a few ſhot at our Sentinels, but they proved a volley at their own buriall, who were inſtantly knockt downe in their places; many nights after was continued ſome extraordinary vigilancy in their expectation, but we took them ſtill to be of more courage then we found them.

I will not greive thine eyes in relating here the many cruell bloudſheds, barbarouſly committed neer us upon the perſons of thoſe Engliſh, which were found tardy in their repaire hither, robbing, ſtripping, ſtarving, and ſtabbing, were ſo ordinary that our eares were filled with no other news. Thou mayſt gueſſe at their diſpoſition by their uſage of one and thirty priſoners, taken at the Bridge of *Gillingſtone*, or in the way before they could reach hither, (whoſe lives they had reſerved only to exchange, for as many of theirs with us) their entertainment of them was a crowding into a dark Dungeon, and feeding them with nothing but Garbage and Offalls, of ſuch fleſh as their Dogs could ſcarce eat, allowing them neither ſalt nor fire to broyle it, and once a day threw them in a ſheafe of Beans, or ſome Cabbage ſtalkes, the returne of whom was a lamentable ſpectacle, many being ſo far pined, proved irrecoverable, and died the next day, howſoever the like number here of theirs that were releaſed, returned in a better hue, their faces declaring they wanted no victuals and for other neceſſaries they were ſo fully ſupplyed, by many of their Town-ſiſters, as if they had been Martyrs.

Thoſe of our Souldiers which were Papiſts, were ſo poyſoned dailywith the Councell of ſuch, as had a dominion over their Conſciences, that they ſtole over the walls by dozens in a night to the Enemy, ſome fairly asked leave to be diſmiſſed, as being againſt the ſafety of their ſouls, to be ſo much as defenſive in this quarrell, every night wee had allarms by ſome peals of ſhot, at one corner, or other, But at length finding the intent to be rather to diſturbe our reſt, then ſurprize the Towne, they were ſo ſlighted that we ſuffered them to ſpend their powder againſt the walls, without ſo much as taking any notice of it, unleſſe any approached ſo nigh as wee were ſure of the concluſion, howſoever wee were aſſured by all that came from them that in this darke of the Moon, wee ſhould feele their utmoſt,

which

which according to their threatning, we were not backward to prepare them an entertainment.

At length they ſent an extraordinary Embaſſage, which for the better lucke came by a Fryer one father *Darcy*, who not long agone had beene Prior of the Dominicans here; He accompanied by a Captaine of his owne name, with a Drum beat a Parley upon the hill, and being admitted to the Gate delivered his Commiſſion to the Captaine of the Port, the ſumme of which was to this purpoſe *viz. That the Generall and Captaines of the Catholique Army had ſent this Father* Darcy *with others to treate with the Governour and Captaines of the Towne of* Droheda, *to whom they were to give credit, as in their names*, provided firſt that they might have aſſurance of ſafe conduct and returne, under the hands of the Governour, before their entrance. While this was conſidering of, and a protection ſending them accordingly, The Fryer longing till he was delivered of his errand, ſtaid not for an anſwer, but upon the bare word of an Officer enters, and without any further ſecurity preſents himſelfe. At his ſuddein unexpected approach the Governour made him ſenſible of his errour, which (being out of his element) he had runne into, that being come in without any Obligation from him, hee was at his mercy, whether hee would diſmiſſe him or no, yet notwithſtanding was pleaſed to paſſe it by only as an inconſiderate act, and not taking that advantage which the Law of Armes would juſtifie, granted him audience, and aſſurance of ſafetie, as if he had had it more formally under his hand, as it was both conditioned and preparing, and the Drum that came with him was as inordinate as himſelfe, being one of our owne Souldiers, not long before run away from us, whoſe doome by right was to have bin hanged.

The ſumme of his demand was, *The abſolute ſurrender of the Towne for his Majeſties uſe and ſervice*, aſſuring us of ſuch deepe projects and mighty forces, that it would be impoſſible (not expreſly excepting Gods power it ſelfe) ever to be relieved either by Land or Sea,

The Governour with the Captaines anſwer, was as ſhort; that they had a Commiſſion from his Majeſtie bearing ſuch a date for the defence of this Towne againſt them, but could they produce a Countermand of a Later date, either from his Majeſty, or the Lords Juſtices for to give it up, they were ready to obey; In the meane time they thought themſelves more able to keepe it, then the Country was to keepe them. That as yet they had been put to no ſuch diſtreſſe, as to admit of any ſuch meane

thoughts. That if they attempted it by the Sword, they ſhould be ſure to have moſt of their lives firſt; or if by Famine, they ſhould heare they eate their horſes hides.

Having this anſwer, the Fryer was as weary of his ſtay in Towne, as he was haſty of entring, only gave us a *Copie of the Oath*, lately taken by the Lords of the *Pale*, and (as he ſaid) by the reſt of the *Pretended Catholiques* neere us, which the next day it came to my hands, I thought it not unfit to returne it with the intereſt of a ſhort gloſſe, and a diſſwaſive appendix to the taking of it.

The Oath is as followeth.

I A.B. *doe in the preſence of Almighty God, and all the Angels and Saints in heaven, promiſe, vow, ſweare, and proteſt to maintaine and defend, as farre as I may with my life, power, and eſtate: the publique, and free exerciſe of the true Catholique Roman Religion againſt all perſons that ſhall oppoſe the ſame.*

I further ſweare, that I will beare faith and true Alleagiance to our Soveraigne Lord King Charles, *his Heires and Succeſſors, and that I will defend him, and them, as farre as I may with my life, power, and eſtate, againſt all ſuch perſons as ſhall attempt any thing againſt their Royall Perſons, Honours, Eſtates, or Dignities, and againſt all ſuch as ſhall directly, or indirectly, endeavour to ſuppreſſe their royall Prerogatives, or doe any act or acts contrary to regall government.*

As alſo the power and priviledges of Parliament, the lawfull rights and priviledges of the Subject, and every perſon that makes that Vow, Oath, and Proteſtation, in whatſoever he ſhall doe in the lawfull purſuance of the ſame.

And to my power, as farre as I may, I will oppoſe, and by all wayes and meanes endeavour to bring to condigne punishment, even to the loſſe of life, liberty and eſtate, all ſuch as ſhall either by force practiſe, Counſels, Plots, Conſpiracies, or otherwiſe, doe or attempt any thing to the contrary of any Article, clauſe, or any thing in this preſent Vow, Oath, and proteſtation contained, ſo helpe me God.

Vpon the Treaty of this ſaid Fryer, who in the name of the Commanders of the Catholique Army (for ſo he ſtiled them) had demanded the ſurrender

ſurrender of this Town as aforeſaid, our Governour and Captains cauſed this following Proteſtation and Oath to bee made and drawne up as followeth.

The Proteſtation of the Governour and Captaines of the Town of *Drogheda*, for their unanimous defence of it for his Majeſties uſe and ſervice.

WHereas we are beſet with ſuch who pretend their attempts in taking of this Town to be for the advancement of his Majeſties ſervice, (which notwithſtanding we believe is but a pretext to delude the vulgar) wee the Governour and Captaines of the ſaid Towne, for the further manifeſtation and approbation of our loyalty, and faithfulneſſe to his Majeſty, by whoſe immediate Command wee are charged for the defence of his juſt and Royall title in it: do likewiſe hereby unanimouſly make this following Proteſtation and Oath, and doe enjoyn it to be taken by every Souldier and Inhabitant of this Town, as the evidence of their faith, and truth to the Kings Crown and dignity, which we ſhall maintain with our lives and eſtates, and that ſuch as ſhall refuſe it, to be put out of the Gates.

The Oath.

I Shall to my uttermoſt, endeavour the defence of this Town, againſt all outward or inward attempts whatſoever, for his Majeſties ſervice.

I ſhall forthwith diſcover any Plot, Conſpiracy, or Combination, which may, or ſhall come to my knowledge from without, or within, which may be any ways intended to the prejudice of the whole Towne, or to the perſon of the Major, Governour, Aldermen, or any of the Captaines or Officers Garriſond in it.

I ſhall not attempt nor conſent that the Towne ſhall bee given upon any pretence or cauſe whatſoever, without the conſent of the Governour, Major, and greater part of the Captains and Aldermen in it, or without ſpeciall Command from his Majeſty, or chiefe Governour or Governours of the Kingdome.

All

All which I doe herby ſweare truly and faithfully to obſerve and keepe without any fraud, deceit, or mentall reſervation whatſoever.

This Oath howſoever intending aſwell the ſafety of the Towne Officers, as the Garriſon and either readily taken or offered to be taken by the Captains, Officers, and all the Souldiers, yet being preſented to the Major and Aldermen, they firſt delayed it, by deſiring a ſight of it with ſome time of conſideration, and at length after adviſe with their learned (I will not ſay Religious) Councell returned a flat refuſall, only coloured with the pretence of endangering the favour of a faire quarter, which they expected if the Towne were taken, yet a Lievtenant of one of the Troops, (though a Papiſt) and proteſting his conſtancy in that Religion upbraided them to their faces, that they could be no good Subjects in their refuſall. And here it was not unobſerved as a juſt judgment of God upon ſome of the Souldiers for their perjury, who having taken the Oath, and a night or two afterwards ſtealing over the walls to the Rebells one brake his back and another his neck, and others much bruiſed themſelves, lying there as examples to others that ſhould doe the like, which was the more obſervable, in that before that Oath, many had climbed over, and had no hurt.

The Rebels finding that neither their faire pretences nor bloudy threatnings to prevaile ſo far as to gain us to any compoſition for giving up the Towne, they put their reſolutions into action, and ſo Saint *Thomas* his Eve was the night appointed with one conſent to give us an on-ſet on all ſides at once, which as wee had notice of by our Spyes, ſo towards the Evening wee might ſee them our ſelves drawing nigh in ſeverall bodies of ſix or ſeven thouſand, which by their owne relation is twice doubled, and lately hath been confeſſed by one of their chiefe to have beene ſixteen thouſand, the iſſue of which was as followeth.

The on-set given by the Rebels with their whole ſtrength, December the twentieth, being Saint Thomas his Eve.

THat afternoon there came certain information of that being the fatall night pitched upon by all their forces for our ruine, who made no other account but of ſwallowing us up quick, and with it very good grounds to aſſure us of ſome aſſiſtance promiſed them by the Towne, who at ſuch an houre and at ſuch an allarme were to fall upon us, and to open a Port, upon which the Governour inſtantly diſarmed the Townſorces of ſuch Muskets and Pikes as he had intruſted them with, & cauſed a ſearch, to be made for any other Armes, and to be gathered all that could be found into one roome. Commanded all the Townſmen within doores upon pain of death, and about that houre ſet for the mutiny within (whereby the Enemy might the ſecurer aſſault us without) hee was once for triall ſake thinking to have ſet forty Musketiers to have ſhot powder one againſt another, and ſo to make a confuſed noyſe, as if the Towne had beene in an uprore, and falne upon us indeed: but for feare of ſome unexpected miſtakes, which might have hapned by ſuch as could not have knowne the myſtery, hee deſiſted, and reſted in the beliefe of that which evidently declared it ſelf afterwards:

The whole Garriſon of Foot and Horſe, conſiſting of eighteene hundred, ſtood to their Arms all that night, every Company being appointed to their ſeverall Guards, unto which there was added another of Volunteers out of the able and ſufficient houſholders of the Towne, to the number of fourſcore, who proffered themſelves, and had preſently a Captaine and Officers appointed them, of whom ſeven were of the Clergie, all ſorts without exception thinking it high time now to ſtand for their lives. The ſtreets were well beſet with Candles. The Creſcets in the dark night being lighted, our Governour continually rounding the Towne to ſee all things in order, and to prevent our Popiſh Inhabitants, and the Enemies concurrence at the ſet houre, by diſcerning how the night went, cauſed the clock to be ſet back two houres. All things being in a readineſſe great expectation was there of our greeting. At length about one a clock, they began to give ſome warning ſhot (which was deemed to be rather directed to the Townſmen then to us) which being at that diſtance, our Souldiers daigned

not to take notice of. Not long after at a watch-word given and about the hour prefixed, they all approched the wals, and according to their uſe gave ſuch a terrible ſhout round about the Towne, ſuch as I remember never to have heard the like. The end of it was believed either to ſcar and confound our forces, or to invite the Town to make good their promiſe: for the furthering of which ſome were heard to cry out of their windows, that the Town was loſt, but neither had their iſſue. That tumultuous cry at one gate was inſtantly ſo well anſwered by the dolefull Echo of a Cannon from the Mount, that we ſoon heard them quite of another tune, as being the ſlaughter of multitudes of them: for three or foure houres was this muſicall diſcord continued, till by the miſtake of the clock, the day breaking ſuddenly before they were aware they took themſelves to flight, and every one invited the other to all poſſible ſpeed, after whom (being now fully diſcovered) were poſted all ſorts of ſhot from all quarters, which cauſed many (who by turning their backs had no mind to ſee their own deaths) to drop by the way: ſome of them by their clothes and faire horſes were deemed Commanders, ſcaling Ladders were multiplyed in the rumour which came often to our eares before, but wee ſaw none now, neither was indeed the time come for their uſe. The numbers of their ſlaine is not certaine, only ſuch as were ſent out that morning upon a view, found all the fields bedewed with bloud, here and there ſome limbes ſcattered from their bodies, many cart loads of their dead were ſeen driving away, abundance left behind in ditches, which in their haſt they had forgotten, whoſe ſtolne clothes and linnen proved a better booty to their ſtrippers then was expected, many being the very provant Clothes taken from ours at the Bridge, as with one of them (whoſe head was brought in), was found the very armour of one of our Officers ſlain there.

For ours (ſuch was Gods protection of us) that there was not one man ſlain, nor ſo much as hurt, notwithſtanding at Saint *Iohns* Gate (which was the moſt naked, and where Captain *Moris* commanded) there was the hotteſt work, good language paſt on both ſides, ours called them the Kings Traytors, they ours the Queens, ſome of our Popiſh Souldiers who had run away, were their Guides, and were ſo bold as to call their ſeverall Captains by their names as they diſcerned them by their voyces, ſome of ours by this continued acquaintance at length grew ſo courteous that when they found the Enemy ſlow in giving fire, deeming it might be for want of Powder, offered to throw them a Bag, if they would but fetch it, wagers were laid commonly amongſt the Musketiers who ſhould take of ſuch

a Com-

Commander appearing more gallantly mounted and clothed then the reſt; and indeed ſeldome miſſed, but one was the Sen. Thus this night made choice of according to their prowesse, in hope of Saint *Thomas* his bleſſing turned the contrary, much of their blood was ſpilt, and by Gods eſpeciall goodnes none of ours, which that morning as ſoon as the ſtorm was over; we failed not in the Church ſolemnly and publickly to acknowledge, and to give him the praiſe to whom it is only due.

This failing of the Town (who indeed were not at liberty to performe,) we heard moved the Rebels to vent many hard words againſt them, and till they received their excuſe, threatned to put no difference between them, and us, if ever they took it.

Not many nights after when a revengfull reply was threatned again, & by us expected there were found chalked upon moſt of the Papiſts doores white Croſſes to diſtinguiſh them from us, which ſome of ours perceiving they went up, and down and privatly wiped them out, of purpoſe to guide the Enemies hands righter then their intentions, if they had entred, and ſet up Gallowſes in their ſtead, & put the white Croſſes upon the Proteſtants doores, and indeed they had much merited of the Rebels by the diſtinction they continually made between ours and theirs in their anger. If any of our Popiſh Souldiers (whoſe hearts were juſtly ſuſpected to be without the Gates) were ſick, they wanted neither for clothes, phyſick, or diet, no more then their own children by the private charity of the Maſters of the houſes where they were billited: But if a Proteſtant chanced to be ſick they would not give him a bit of bread, nor afford him the leaſt courteſie to ſave his life.

Their Axes, Spades and other neceſſaries, much wanting for Fortifications, and cutting down of trees neer the Gates which ſheltered the Rebels from the ſhot, they hid or denied the loan of them, till by ſearching they were found, and ſo violent taken.

About this time was a grand Conſpiracy found out, an oath adminiſtring by a Popiſh Captain of the Town forces to thoſe of his own Souldiers, and ſome of ours of the ſame profeſſion, for the ſeizing upon our Souldiers Arms, as they were aſleep in their ſeverall lodgings, and ſudden killing them either in their beds, or at their Guards. The ſuſpition of which Plot ſented the ſtronger by being revealed by a Papiſt, who ſaid hee was adviſed by a Frier to take what Oath ſhould be adminiſtred to him by the ſaid Captain, who upon it was preſently committed, and by the firſt ſhipping ſent

ſent to *Dublin*. One *Dowdall* a Trooper (being as it ſeemes of the Councell) and accidentally ſlaine by his fellow, they were ſo inconſiderate as to obſerve it as a juſt judgement of God upon him, whom they preſumed had diſcovered it. But he revealing nothing of it, the contrary was rather obſerved by us, for his knowledge of it, and concealing it.

Many of the Troopers, as the foot who were Papiſts were found ſome nights within doores when they ſhould have anſwered the Alarms which with other circumſtances confirmed our beliefe, they had beene tampered with that way.

By this timely repulſe of this long threatned onſet, we were in the greater hope of having the quieter Chriſtmas, when the Moon began to favour us with her light. Many Feſtivals in which, we ſolemnly kept as days of Thankſgiving to God for our many delivarances. When (with what due preparation by the aſſiſtance of the Chaplaine and others of my Brethren here could be gained) the whole Regiment received the Communion, who with the Town Inhabitants, and other ſtrangers, made up ſuch a confluence of Communicants for two or three dayes, that for many yeeres there hath not been ſeen the like, to the envy and regrating of our Neighbours. By this a rumour was raiſed amongſt the Rebels, as if all our Commanders with their Companies had taken the Sacrament never to give up the Town, which ſomewhat daunted them, and as wee heard moved them to the like indeed, in their ſuperſtitious binding one another, by the ſacred linke never to leave the ſiege till they had it. Nay, ſome had prefixed the very day, but the event according to their fond beliefe in that particular, proved a meer deluſion. On Chriſtmas Eve we had a care of preventing their then cuſtomary frequent meetings, leaſt under their pretence of Confeſſions, or hearing ſo many *Maſſes*, ſome other fruit ſhould have iſſued from thoſe aſſemblies.

On Chriſtmas day a Captaine of theirs ſending his ſervant with a ſmall wild preſent to my Lord *Moore*, in exchange for a pottle of Wine, theſe following pretended Motives were received, which I thought fit to inſert as followeth.

The

The Motives moving the Catholiques of Ireland *to take Armes.*

OUr Royall King and Queene are by the Puritanes curbed and abuſed, and their Prerogatives reſtrained, diminiſhed, and almoſt wholly aboliſhed, contrary to the Rights and Power of all Monarchall Authority, and alſo the Duty, Allegiance and Conſciences of all loyall Subjects, which with griefe we take to heart, as faithfull and loyall Subjects ought to doe. The Catholique Religion ſuppreſſed and put downe in *England*, and the Catholiques perſecuted with all rigorous cruelty, even to death; the like the Puritanes of this Kingdome threatened to have brought hither.

That there is a Law againſt Catholiques in this Countrey, whereby the Kingdome hath been often impaired and ruined with perſecutions, by meanes whereof the Catholiques are made uncapable of any Office, or Place of Commodity or profit, to the great and extraordinary decay of the Catholiques in their eſtates, education and learning.

That the Government of the Kingdome is wholly in the hands of ſtrangers, who in their beginnings are generally poore of birth and meanes, and very quickly become Noble men, and men of great eſtates, by oppreſſing and ruinating the poore Natives.

That there hath been of late great threatenings of ſending great Scottiſh forces, with the Bible in one hand, and Sword in the other, to force our Conſciences or end our Lives, beſides a private report of a ſudden ſurpriſall and cutting the Catholiques throats, intending which way we know not, but it hath been both written and ſpoken by ſeverall Proteſtants and Puritanes.

That the Catholiques were not allowed to have any Armes, or Munition (as Proteſtants and Puritanes were) but ſtood like dead men not able to defend themſelves in ſuch deſperate dangers.

All which being by them conſidered, they did ſee no way but to attempt to ſeize upon Armes, where they could get them, to ſave their Lives, maintaine the King and Queene, their Religion and Countrey.

To theſe, ſome conceiving they might carry a ſpecious ſhew with the vulgar, I thought it not amiſſe to returne an anſwer in the ſpeedy unmasking of them, which with the gloſſe upon the confuſed *Oath* have it ſeems been made more publicke then they deſerved, and ſo I leave them, though at

their birth it was not ſafe here to father them.

The impudencie of the Sheriffs of the County of *Loath*, with our Alderman Captaine, when they came in upon parleyes, in their bold aſſertions and preſumptuous hopes in matter of Religion, was unſufferable, which I will not now run thee ſo far out of the way as to relate them, though what they ſaid, we tooke as from the mouth of the Catholique Camp, whoſe Legates they were, they ſo tooke upon them, that a contradiction of them in arguing their Religion to be Idolatry, and their cauſe Rebellion, which in ſtory is not found ever to have proſpered long, procured me no ſmall threatenings if the day ſhould prove theirs. Each Sunday they reckoned to have Maſſe in our Church, as their *Generaliſſimo*, Sir *Philim ô Neil* (I have been told by ſuch as have been eye and eare-witneſſes) hath often clapt his hands with a joyfull aſſurance to his Fryers, that ſhortly they ſhould ſay him a Maſſe in *Chriſt Church* in *Dublin*: But their ambitious thoughts were put to a ſtand by the way here.

After this about the end of *December* was there a great Ice, ſo that our River of the *Boyne* was in a night or two ſo hard frozen, that it could ſcarſe be broken with Mallets; Horſes and men might ſafely paſſe over, which giving ſome advantage to thoſe of the Enemies quarters that lay below the Bridge, made ours alſo the more vigilant in their watch, and they wanted no information and invitation from hence to take the preſent oportunity.

December the laſt, a Boy was taken in the morning very early upon the Ice, after a courſe or two by the ſouldiers comming from the Rebels, and being charged with ſuſpition of ſome meſſage, at firſt with execrable oathes denyed it: But one threatening to hang him, and with a peece of match about his necke beginning to hoiſe him, whereby he found he was in earneſt, he cryed out, that *if they would ſpare his life he would tell the truth*, and ſo confeſſed, foure Aldermens wives ſent him out to the Rebels, with an aſſurance of their ſafe walke over the Ice that night, that many Horſes caſually had run upon it and continued a long time without danger, that they had given him ſome money, and had promiſed him more; That the anſwer returned was, that they wondred they had it not from the men, whoſe judgement muſt needs have prevailed more with them; That they doubted of ſome trap laid for them by the Governour unknowne to the women, and prayed to give them ſome ſurer notice, with a token of *ſome Soape* and a *white diſh* to drinke a cup of Ale in. The women were examined, but had good cauſe to deny it. How diligent our ſouldiers were night and day in preventing

preventing any ſuch ſurpriſall, by breaking the Ice, may eaſily be imagined, which they had no ſooner done but it thawed of its owne accord.

Upon *New-yeares* day, about foure of the clocke in the morning, foure Companies and a troop of Horſe invited themſelves to a viſit of ſome of thoſe quarters North-ward; but the delay they had in opening the Port, which the late froſt had unexpectedly hardened, hindered much of their deſigne, only Captaine *Martin* with his Company, who gate over the wall with ropes, killed ſome 15. with a Sentinell, whereas if the reſt could have followed in time, they had multiplyed them near to as many hundreds, ſo ſecure were they of our not daring ſo much as to approach near them, we put them to flight, burnt that Village and another and ſo retreated.

January the 7 *th*. by breake of day, about 300. foot, and foureſcore horſe were pleaſed to take the aire out at S. *Johns* Port, killed a 100. forced a 100. more to the River, many were drowned (amongſt whom was found caſt up by the water ſide one *Art Roe Mac-Maghon* a great Commander with them) tooke 50. Armes, Cowes, and other booty, to the value of a hundred pound worth, burnt their lodgings, and after a purſuite of a mile or two by the horſe, retreated, which they did very ſlowly, of purpoſe to have invited another Body of them, not far off, to a preſent revenge of their fellowes: But they had ſeene enough of their bloud for one morning, ſome made an overture, but as our men faced about, they turned their backs, whom a Drake of ours over-reached, to the dropping of ſome of them. In this skirmiſh, howſoever they wanted not ſhowers of ſhot from the other ſide of the River alſo, yet there was not a man of ours hurt, excepting one, who (againſt command) continuing pillaging after all the reſt were gone, was taken tardy, and received ſome wounds according to his deſert, but eſcaped with life.

Accidentally many were ſlaine among our ſelves in the ſtreets, and more in the like hazard ſtrangely preſerved. A Corporall of a troop once upon a nights alarum, riding in haſte towards the water ſide, a Sentinell apprehending his intent (by his not anſwering what he was) to have made over the River to the Enemy, ſhot him quite through the back, of which he dyed: The next night another received his deaths wound by his next fellow as they ſate on horſebacke. One (being drunke) diſcharging his Musket killed a man and a woman not far from him. A woman in the twilight carrying a paile of water upon her head, a ſhot from the wals at randome ſtrucke through the very bottome, and hurt her not, the bullet being found in the water, divers caſually ſhot through the crowne of the Hat, Armes, Breaſt,

Collers of their Dublets, and yet had no other hurt then ſometimes razing of the skin, and the bullet hanging in their cloathes.

Now victuals began to be very ſcarſe, the beſt ſort were confined to one meale a day, the common ſouldiers food was altogether herrings and water, and no bread at all with it. This put every one to a narrow ſearch through their quarters; what was found was put into a ſtore-houſe, that Corne that was ſtill in ſtacks, was threſhed out immediately: But yet by reaſon of the want of Mills (moſt of which were without the Towne) little Corne could be ground but by Quernes, too ſlow a proviſion for ſo many thouſands of ſouldiers and Inhabitants. The Milch Cowes throughout the Towne were inſtantly killed, and divided, and as ſoone gone as given. Coales grew ſo ſcarſe, that for the Guards, as all the partitions of pales in backſides had been plucked up, ſo all the Orchards were cut downe within the wals as without, whereby the Towne ſeemed very naked, and like the poore people comming in to us, ſtript to it's ſhame, of it's choiſeſt Ornaments. The want of Hay and Oates cauſed the Horſes to droope, and to be unfit for ſervice, who in ſtead, were faine to take to ſtraw and graines, ſickneſſe and death began to reigne every where, many famiſhed, others with a dyet not uſed to before, fell into ſuch diſeaſes which brought them to the ſame end.

In the midſt of this extremity hearing nothing from the State (who indeed now conceived our caſe to be too deſperate to be ſupplyed) our Governour thought fit to trim up a ſmall veſſell, which being loaded with ſome ſmall Peeces, and manned with forty Musketeers, was reſolved to adventure her through the Enemies ſhot, with a little Friggot attending her, who in the fight ſhould have ſlipped through to *Dublin*. When they were ready, the Towne ſtill declared their hearts in hiding the Pilots, ſo that after much ſearch none could be found, till at length my Lord *Moore* was faine to threaten to ſend halfe a dozen of the Aldermen in them, who ſhould be placed ſo, that they ſhould be ſure to be ſhot firſt, and ſo accordingly apprehended two or three of them, by this feare, they who before pleaded ignorance, in the ſpace of an houre became ſuch knowing men, that they found out foure or five of the chief, to redeeme themſelves; for Sailors, we were yet compelled to make Proclamation, that if ſuch as were deſired came not at ſuch an houre they ſhould be declared traytors, and their wives and children turned out of the Gates, and by this courſe we were preſently ſupplyed, notwithſtanding when we had them, little truſt could we repoſe in them being Papiſts, doubts we had of the ſafety of our little fleet alſo,

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conſidering the ſtrength of the Enemies preparations againſt their comming at the harbours mouth, where beſides their Land-forces, three Barques were manned in expectation of them.

Our Reliefe, *Ian.* 11th.

BUt God, whoſe uſuall time is then to help when all other help and hope faileth, *Jan.* the 11th. relieved us with the ſafe comming of the Pinace, a Friggot, a Gabbard, with two Shallops, and another veſſel loden with Bisket, powder & other Ammunition, of both which, an extremity of want was drawing on, the ſhowers of Musket ſhot which to little purpoſe was powred upon them, from each ſide of the River by the Enemy, and the effectuall anſwers given by our great Peeces, which made ſuch breaches through the bodies of their Companies, as fit Land-markes for them, was worth our glad attention, which was given with great alacrity by the whole Towne round about the wals. O the ſhouts of joy that ecchoed from all ſides at their ſafe arrivall within the Key! Teares were in moſt mens eyes for gladneſſe, all with one conſent in the very ſtreet acknowledging it to be Gods handy-worke, and the very fruit of our prayers, only many of the Towneſ-men ſeemed to be dejected, and at their firſt entrance within the harbour, endeavoured to dancke our expectation, by intimating they might be ſome of the Enemies friends from *Spaine* or elſewhere, and that the ſhot was but a colour to blinde us till they were entred within our bowels. In this bleſſing the handy-worke of God hath been diſcerned in divers particulars, they had ſunke a Barque in the Channell, but a great freſh with a ſtrong Weſt wind had not long before thrown her out to Sea, they had two Barques on each ſide, by which they had with other Boates as ſupporters, fixed an Iron chaine with a Cable, croſſe the Channell, but it proved no let to their paſſage over, without ſo much as touching it. The Pinnace had put in by the way at *Skirries*, about twelve miles off, and burnt the Enemies lodgings, with all their Corne, and what was fit for booty they carried aboard. Now that which was obſerved as a ſpeciall Providence by the very Papiſts, was, that in one tyde they ſhould come from thence quite up to our Key, without ſo much as caſting Anckor

at the barr in ſtaying for the next, and being a low-ebb-tyde alſo, the like of which is acknowledged not to have been knowne here above once in the memory of the eldeſt Alderman. And it paſſed not without ſome notice, that this reliefe ſhould come upon one of our Church-dayes, when no ſooner Sermon was done, and we departed, where we had been begging that bleſſing, but every one was welcommed home with the newes of it. The very delayes of our two little veſſels (though againſt our minds) was a bleſſing, who if they had gone out, had run an iminent hazard by the Enemy, whoſe ſurpriſall muſt have been their great advantage. Thus winde and tyde, and all things wrought for our good, for which as we gave God thanks in his owne houſe, ſo outward tokens of joy were not omitted that Evening in the ſtreets, by bon-fires, vollies of ſhot, ringing of Bels, and the like. Howſoever for the prevention of any treachery, in the midſt of this joy, the Governour had all the watches twice or thriſe rounded, and was carefull in the Evening, leaſt the fruits of ours and the *Dublin* ſouldiers greetings (who brought money with them) were not that vice of drunkenneſſe. But all his watchfulneſſe could not prevent that diſtemper in many, which had like to have turned the next day into as great a Lamentation.

Of the Invaſion, *Jan.* 12th.

AND now we are to relate our greateſt preſervation, wherein the ſpeciall hand of God muſt be confeſſed indeed. This night (though never before) too much ſecurity had poſſeſſed us, and notwithſtanding our Governours vigilancy, moſt of our ſouldiers were drunke, nay our very watches, two parts were in the ſame condition alſo, occaſioned by the falſhood of the Popiſh Towneſ-men, who for that end privately offered them Ale of free-coſt, which poore men having been ſo long ſtrangers too, they received too liberally; Nay, the very Fryers drew in the Sentinels from their guards to drinke; while the major part by this were bound faſt in a ſleep, the Rebels by the help and treacherous intimation of their owne within, about foure of the clocke in the Morning made a breach in the wall, and were entred of their beſt ſouldiers and chiefe Commanders five hundred (as in their Letters

Letters I have ſeen acknowledged by themſelves) who as they came in unheard (it being a mighty bluſtring ſtorme) ſo continued an houre undiſcryed (having for their watch-word, *Klan Patrick (i.e.)* S^t. *Patrickes* childe) till having marched as far as the Key, they gave a ſhoute, whether in aſſurance of victory, or to give notice to the Towne, from whom (by their confeſſions) they expected aſſiſtance, it matters not. But this was our firſt Alarum, which our valiant Governour hearing, inſtantly ran downe unarmed, only with his Piſtols in his hand, and was the firſt that cauſed a Drum to beat, and finding the watches ſo thin, was compelled to take the maine Guard (which fell out to be his owne Company) with the gleanings of ſome other the Guards as all his preſent ſtrength, cauſed his Enſigne to draw downe with them to the Bridge, while ſome from other Ports could be got together, where he met them juſt entring, and finding their Pikes to be ſhort of ours by a yard, charged home, and forced them to retreat; yet they had ſo farre proceeded, as to overturne a Drake that lay there of his carriage.

Our Governour by this time having gathered up a competent number of Muſketeers, ſuccoured him ſcone, where the firſt Company he met with (being yet darke) he tooke by their anſwer to be ſome of his owne, and ſo made a ſtand. But one of the Rebels knowing him by his voice ſhot at him, but miſſed him, only hit him that ſtood next to him, through the brim of his Hat.

Upon which diſcovery, ours inſtantly gave fire, which proved ſo effectuall that they preſently ran backe, leaving their bodies for ſtumbling blocks in our way after them. My Lord *Moore* himſelfe, with 15. Horſe (all that could of a ſudden be got ready) came firſt to his aſſiſtance, and chaſed them up the Hill to the dropping of many of them, and not long after each Captaine getting what number he could together, every Lane was beſet, that they trod them downe with eaſe, many crying out for quarter had it, whom ſome pretending to have been my ſervants gate the like favour, others crept into by-corners and backſides, and thus found ſome hunting worke for the ſouldiers moſt of the day after, ſo that there was ſlaine within and without the Towne, and taken priſoners, about two hundred, amongſt whom one was preſumed to be a Prieſt by his gilt Breviary found in his pocket, and brought to me by his ſtripper. And (if we may give credence to a Letter which I have ſeen of their owne (who uſually in theſe relations, ſhoot rather ſhort then over) ſome of the beſt of their Captaines were ſlaine, hurt, and lamed. A dreadfull ſight, me thought,

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it ſeemed to ſee the bodies of ſo many dead men lying naked up and downe the ſtreets, but more horrid to thinke whither their ſoules were poſted, even to a ſecond death alſo, and yet it could not be beheld without thanks to God, who had returned their Deſigne for us upon themſelves. In whom we might view the draught of our owne condition if the day had bin theirs. For the breach in the wall it was in ſuch an obſcure place (in an Orchard between Saint *Iames* his Gate and the water) that it could not be found out till the purſued directed us to it by their flight thither, through which about two hundred fled, who (if knowne in time) had bin prevented: Such miſtakes were there in this darke confuſion, that a Captaine meeting ſome twenty of them tooke them for his owne, encouraged them, and was leading them very confidently up to the Mill-mount, till caſually by laying his hand upon one or two of them, and finding them wet, and diſcerning a trouſe, apprehended his errour, and made his way by his ſword through ſome of them, and ſo gate backe againe; yet they proceeded ſo farre as to knocke downe the two Centinels in their way, and were come juſt up to the Mount-Bridge before they were diſpatched, one of whom was killed upon the very Mount it ſelfe. The Captaine who had then the command of the Mount miſtooke one of our Companies for the Rebels, who (by their making haſte up to the Hill, being breathleſſe and ſpeechleſſe, in not anſwering what they were) was juſt giving fire to a peece of Ordnance upon them, had not one man being beſt winded, by a timely anſwer ſaved the reſt.

Without the Towne were many thouſands at ſeverall corners ſtill confidently expecting the opening of a Port, by their owne party within, who ſtayed in ſight an houre or two after day-light: Which errour of theirs when ours apprehended, they thought good to nouriſh, and having taken a Bagg-piper of theirs, cauſed him upon one of the Gates to daunce and play very merrily, and call to them to make haſte in, that the Towne was theirs; The like was confirmed at other Gates by holding up their Caps, and uſing all other ſignes of triumph.

By this it was a mirth to ſee Companies of ſtragling fellowes leaping ditches for the ſhorter way, and running out of breath for haſte to the Gates, like Birds to the ſnare, or fiſhes to the net, who ſhould be firſt taken, and ſo were brought in by dozens in a ſtring, till our priſons were glutted with them. But at length, ſeeing all going, and none returning, they judge it but to be but like beaſts to the Lyons dennes, and ſo that ſport was ended, and yet ſo ſtrong were they of that beliefe that they ſtill kept their ſtandings

ſtandings, till a Peece or two from the Mill-Mount, ſhewed them their miſtakes, by ſweeping away about thirty of them, and ſo by that diſcourteous uſage, the reſt of them tooke their leaves of us very abruptly, many were ſlaine at the ſeverall Ports by the Musket-ſhot from the wals, divers found out by the ſouldiers within, where they had been by their good brethren harboured, ſome were men of good quality by their cloathes, who when they were ſtripped, were found double ſuited, a faire skarlet diſguiſed by a frize, keeping it (I beleeve) clean for the more glorious triumphing ſhow after we had bin all cut off, *but bleſſed be God who made us not a prey unto their teeth.*

This deliverance was acknowledged by the worſt of men to be Gods ſpeciall handy-worke, in their heartleſſe delayes at their entrance, the confuſion in their proceedings, the infatuating of their Councels, for had they but either cut off the Guard at the Port near which they were entred, who were moſt aſleep, and ſo opened the Gate to thouſands of their owne Party there attending, or made up to the Mill-Mount, where foure or five Peeces were commanding the whole Towne (and where a Gunner was not to be found) or marched but to the Bridge, and with the two Drakes there entred into the Body of the Towne, and ſo cut off themaine Guard, we had bin undone, and ſlaine in our beds, and indeed *true and righteous* had bin *Gods Judgement* for that deluge of drunkenneſſe, wherein moſt were drowned. But he ſhewed himſelfe rather to delight in mercy in ſparing us. It was not unobſerved neither, that their ſhout of victory being our firſt Alarum, ſhould be our only preſervation, and that in this great hazard of us all, and ſlaughter of ſo many of them, there ſhould be in fight, but three of our men ſlaine in the place, was moſt wonderfull in our eyes, indeed ſome few walking in the ſtreets unarmed, and ignorant of their entrance, were butchered by them (as a footman, a horſeman, and a Sentinell or two) for the preventing their diſcovery, as others, by ſome other accidents afterwards, but in fight no conſiderable number.

One of our ſouldiers that had run away, being taken now and hanged, confeſſed upon the Gibbet, that a Fryer had laid the plot, and others of that Fraternity had a hand in the proſecution, as accordingly about the time of the ſhout there was ſeen halfe a dozen Muskets ſhot out of one Fryery, at ſuch as paſſed on the other ſide upon the Key. Upon this, inquiſition was made into ſome of their Cloyſters, where Powder,

Match and Armes were found little becomming any of thoſe Orders, except the Loyalliſts, whoſe Father had bin indeed a lame ſouldier. Under this pretence of ſearching for Rebels, ſome pillage was committed in the Towne againſt the will of the Governour, who afterwards by Proclamation had reſtored to the owners what could be gotten, and on paine of death that miſdemeanor reſtrained, though many of their Actions in this buſineſſe, had deſerved a greater forfeiture.

This errour overpaſt without any dammage, as it deſerved of us a ſpeciall day of thanksgiving to God (which accordingly was obſerved) ſo it doubled the vigilancy of our watch ever after.

The former continuall duty of the ſouldiers was very great, each Company with their Captaine and Officers, by an equall diviſion watched every other night, beſides two Captaines of the watch in their turnes for each ſide the Bridge. Now to this was added the aſſiſtance of forty Horſe, who by ſeverall diviſions walked the Rounds all night, ſo that a Sentinell by their often viſiting had ſcarſe time to winke. My Lord *Moore*, and the Governour, in their owne perſons, each night walked the Rounds alſo, as ſurperviſors of the whole. The wals were narrowly reviewed within, as without, and ſome ſuſpected places ſtrengthened; the Pioners imployed in ſlitting the wall-dike, and clearing the Orchards without, of ſuch Trees that yet ſheltered the Enemy from the ſhot; the top of the Mill-Mount round beſet with Barrels filled with earth, and ſo every one being encouraged with the little reliefe by the Pinnace, and the great deliverance from the Invaſion, looked the more narrowly to their charge for the prevention of the like againe.

A faire winde within two dayes inviting the Pinace, with her attendance to a returne, gave the Enemy many a faire warning peece on each ſide as ſhe paſſed, but few from either replyed, only upon a little Fiſher Boat of our owne, ſtaying in the reare, ſome ſhot were beſtowed, through the Furres, but hurt her not: But at length, by the unskilfulneſſe, or the drunkenneſſe of the Steert-man, ran aground, and being left dry was taken by the Rebels, and in her about thirty pound of Powder, two Slings, and one Harquebuſh, and fourteen Priſoners, whom the next day they ſent us upon the like exchange of their owne. The Pinace was for want of water, and ſome inconſideration, runne aground alſo. The Rebels upon this advantage played thicke upon her

her from both ſides the River, to their great expence of Powder, and to as little purpoſe, till at length at an Ebbe, as ſhe lay dry, a hundred of them under the ſhelter of ſome Carr loades of Furres, deſperately approached her, and notwithſtanding the loſſe of ſome of them ran under her very Stearne, and there with their Pick-axes and Crowes of Iron, began to buldge her, who being thus got now, not only out of the feare of the Cannon, but of any hurt by Musket or Pike, was our greateſt hazard. Captaine *Stutfield* (who hath much deſerved of us in twice adventuring to relieve us) preſently threw ſome Granado's among them, which killed many of them, they abid ſix, but at the ſeventh with one conſent they all ran away, whom the Musket and Cannon proſecuted, and cauſed many to loſe their breath up the Hill, and after that never dared to adventure the like againe: The number of their ſlaine is uncertaine, but by the mighty ſtreame of bloud it was conjectured to be at the leaſt threeſcore; for the Pinace ſome few were hurt, but none killed, except a Lieutenant accidentally ſhot in the Head by one of their laſt, as they were ready to weigh Ankor.

Whileſt we ſaw her in this danger, the apprehenſion of our owne loſſe in her, was cauſe ſufficient to move us publickely, as privately, to pray for her reſtoring, and it was anſwered: for that night, by the help of a freſh, and lightening her Ballace, with the change of a fit winde, ſhe got off, and lanced into the Poole, where reſting her ſelfe two dayes, the third, with a faire winde rode out in triumph, and bad us farewell.

The Shallops and the reſt moſt falſly left the Pinace in her diſtreſſe, and mounted over the Barr to *Dublin*, or elſe the foure Barques lying by her, had either bin reduced or fired, only a Friggot left with us, carrying foure peeces of Ordnance, and going to aſſiſt, as farre as the barre mouth ſtucke to her, but had the misfortune of running aground on the other ſide alſo, where the Rebels in the darke made a breſt-work, and with two ſlings taken from the other, played on her all the night, but payed dearly for their preſumption, in the loſſe of many of their lives. And it was here obſerved, that thoſe of ours who cowardly dared not be ſeen above hatches, and would not fight, were only wounded (the Decke being not Musket proofe) and thoſe who appeared and couragiouſly diſcharged, were not hurt at all, but came off untouched. But not long after ſhe was freed alſo of that danger, and came ſafe in againe.

And it was obſerved as a rare thing, that in the ſame Tyde there was one winde to bring the Friggot hither, and within one houre or two after, another winde as neceſſary for the Pinaces reſtoring. Thus winde and waves, and all accidents turned to our good, and ruine of the Rebels.

After this waſte of Powder, with much loſſe of their owne bloud, we were quiet a weeke after, without ſo much as one ſhot to diſturbe us, onely they fired many Townes upon my Lord *Moores* Lands, ſtill perſwading him as before, that their making his eſtate thus a burnt offering, proceeded from their religious, zealous affection to him.

After theſe diſaſters, many Drum-Parlies had we daily from them: The firſt Drum (or rather Agent with a Drum at his backe) was ſent for little elſe but to raile and curſe, by which impatiency we felt their diſtempered pulſe, and diſcerned where it pinched them, ſome Letters we received, were ſo tranſcendent, that they ſoared beyond all ſence; ſome ſo vaporous, that they vaniſhed into meere non-ſence, two of which I have bin deſired to blot a little paper with, one from Sir *Philim O Neile*, and the other from Colonell *Plunkett* (as he ſtiled himſelfe) by which, being the top of their braines, thou mayeſt the eaſier conjecture what might be expected from their underlings.

The

The Letter of Sir *Philim ô Neile* their Generall (with the *Errata* of much falſe Engliſh corrected) to my Lord *Moore*, upon the ſending him his MAJESTIES Speech in the PARLIAMENT.

SIR, what priſoners we have here taken, and in a faire Way, I can not underſtand by the Catalogue of your priſoners, or all of them, nay not the third part ſo taken, but rather ſome of thoſe that under your yoke of ſervitude, rather With you, then us, whoſe Innocency I deſire and hope Will relieve them in time. I deſire a true Liſt of our ſoulliers taken by any of yours, which when I ſee, Will deliver ſouldier for ſouldier, and Gentleman for Gentleman; As for the Copy you ſent, I hold it not authenticall to any from his Maieſty, for the like may be invented, and printed in Ireland, *as in* England. *Let it be printed where it Will you pleaſe, I preſerre* his Majeſties Intentions, and my owne, with the reſt of the Lords here of the *Pale* and *Loath*, *Whoſe Predeceſſors have ever from the beginning been moſt faithfull and loyall to the* Crowne of England, *and ever intends the ſame themſelves, Inviolable and moſt true and zealous loyalty, before any ſuch Inventions, and ſo I reſt,*

Yours, as you are mine,

From the Catholique Army,
Jan. 14th. 1641.

PHIL. ONEILL.

The Letter of Colonell *Plunquet* to my Lord *Moore*, and the Governour.

MY Lord Moore, and *Sir* Henry Tichburne, *upon the word of your Drum-major, I delivered fourteene priſoners yeſterday, for which we expected this Morning at ten of the clocke as many of ours. This Bullet was taken out of the body of a certaine Gentleman on our ſide, and after giving quarter to thoſe priſoners which we ſent of yours, we found many of the like faſhion about them; for the firſt time I was contented to winke thereat, giving them a favour in ſparing their lives, till firſt I had acquainted you of your ſouldiers proceedings, hoping thereby that their uncivill beginnings may be by your due carefulneſſe hereafter amended. For the better ſort of our ſide, we deſire nothing more then a ſouldier-like, and honourable kind of way. If by your anſwers herein we finde you intend the contrary, then ſhall it be the uttermoſt of my endeavours, and with all expedition to publiſh unto the world, that neither will we give quarter, or demand it.* Let this my Letter remaine as a teſtimony *of our noble Proceedings, being written by the hands of an Engliſh-man. The Names of the priſoners we deſire in exchange of thoſe we ſent yeſterday, are included in this incloſed Note. In haſte I reſt,*

Your Friend,

Beawly, *Jan.* 15th. 1641.

Richard Plunquett.

VPon the former blinde Infidell Letter, a ſtander by beſtowed a paire of ſpectacles, and to the latter vaparous one was given a Counterblaſt, each returned with daſhes according to ther merit. And that I may not trouble thee any more with things of this nature, I ſhall here give thee a view alſo of a royall *Paſſe* of Sir *Philim O Neile*, found with one of his ſouldiers after he was ſlaine, wherein the plurality of his follies paſſing through the multiplying Glaſſe of his diſtempered fancy is more evident.

The PASSE.

WHereas We are pleaſed to take into our protection the Bearer hereof, John Grere, *We therefore pray all our Colonels, Captaines, and our other inferiour Officers of our Armies, and all others to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, to ſuffer and permit the ſaid* John Grere *to paſſe and repaſſe about his and our lawfull affaires, he behaving himſelfe ſoberly and honeſtly, without his taking up Armes againſt us, the which we require all the aforeſaid Officers to take notice of this our Warrant, as you, or any of you will anſwer the contrary.*

Given at *Armagh*, this of *Novemb.*

Phil. O Neile.

VVHich thus comming to our hands, returned not without the intereſt of ſome Annotations alſo, howſoever by theſe ſilly Preſidents, thou mayeſt ſeriouſly meaſure what high ambitious thoughts raigne within him.

In his Letter he is ſo preſumptuous, as by a kinde of equality to inſtile his owne intentions with his MAIESTIES (ſomewhat like that of one of their Cardinals, *Ego, & Rex meus*) and ſo preferres them before the reſt of the LORDS, as if they were all to be but ſubſequent to his. For the *Paſſe*, what ſtile could be more affecting a Royalty: As if his being called Earle of *Tyrone* by the vulgar, lull'd him into a dreame, he had been crowned KING of *Ulſter*. In which we ſhall leave him but a while before he is wakened.

After the Pinace had taken her leave of them, ſome of their owne Barques followed her to Sea alſo, by ſome rumoured to be fraught with their flying Commanders, others to be diſpatched for *France*, or for *Dunkirke* for a ſupply of Armes and Powder, their ſtore of each having been lately much waſted (as I have ſeen ſome of their Letters intimating to that purpoſe.) Their former bluſtring ſtrange Letters were abated of a ſudden, they fell into calme, and milde expreſſions, my ſelfe wanted not ſome reſpective remembrance from the chiefe of the Relyes, whom indeed I had knowne with little ſuſpition of the poſſibilitie of any ſuch enterpriſe, one, whom the Engliſh had ſhewne ſo much love too, aswhen he was proſecuted for his Life, at the Kings Bench by great ones. A Jury of the Engliſh Proteſtant Gentlemen, affectionately cleered him, with the iſſue of the hazard of their owne eſtates, who for that verdict were queſtioned in the Starre-chamber afterwards; yet ſome of theſe men hath he uſed moſt barbarouſly, and kept them under a mercileſſe bondage, upon their owne Lands, till lately by an exchange of ſome of their priſoners here, we received.

When they had no more priſoners of ours near hand, they offered by two or three Drummes to ranſome theirs. Our Governours anſwer was, he had no Commiſſion for it, but aſſured them of that reſpect,

reſpect that none ſhould remove them out of their cloſe lodgings, that what meate they would ſend them, ſhould be duely given them, and indeed they wanted not by the charity of the popiſh Merchants wives, who ſent them Caddowes, Night-Caps, Meale, and Cloathes, ſuch as they were never Maſters of before, ſo that if the Commanders could ſpare them, the men we found indifferent, whether they were releaſed, or no. And yet for any of our priſoners returned at any time from the Rebels naked and ſtarved, not a crum of Charity could be wrung from them, were it to the preſent ſaving of their lives: Charity which in it ſelfe is ever commendable, yet with this diſtinction is miſtaken, and loſeth it's reputation, evidently declaring the hearts of the Doners.

Often were we threatened with Alarums, men ſeeming to gather out towards Evening, as if there had beene ſome reality in it: Houſes near the Towne upon Hils were fired, which were their uſuall Signals for an union of forces on both ſides; but they proved but bravadoes, their only refuge we found now, was ſtarving us: As ſometimes they would approach ſo near us as to aske our Centinels if they had yet eaten their Cabbage-ſtalkes, or wanted Horſe-fleſh. Multitudes indeed dyed of the famine, many of the ſouldiers who had been men of good eſtates, by the ſalt dyet never uſed to before, fell into thoſe diſeaſes which made them unfit for ſervice, ſo that every Company grew very defective in their number, a continuall watching in thoſe cold Winter Nights (the Centinels ſtanding without any ſhelter) many without ſhooes or ſtockings (which by the Merchants hiding their Leather and Cloath, could not be ſupplyed) deſtitute of neceſſiry firing upon their Guards, in reaſon muſt needs produce ſome ill effects with ſuch as had been otherwiſe bread; but by degrees the poore men learned contentedneſſe, patiently waiting upon him, who when wee were brought to an extremity, failed us not; yet let it be

ever remembred, to the honour of the LORD *Mowr*, and GOVERNOVR, and the Captaines of the Horſe and Foot, to keep ſo naked a Towne ſo long, againſt ſuch a multitude, in that want both of Men, Meate, Money, Cloathes, and firing; yet duely keeping their watches every Night, wet or froſt, beſides the contunuall Alarums, and often Sallies, whereby they had ſcarſe any time to reſt.

Within a Fortnight, what quantity of Bisket and Meale, we received by the Pinace, was by ſo many mouthes eaſily ſpent; Famine and Fluxes, with other diſeaſes, returned againe to their former dominion over us; death began to looke more terrible within the wals then without; the Bels reſted not from paſſing toales, the ſtreets frequented dayly and hourely with dolefull beates of Drummes, and ſad Funerall Marches; the Church-yard continually ringing with Vollies of ſhot at their Burials; multitudes of the Engliſh Inhabitants (to my no ſmall griefe) waſted away alſo, ſo that what by thoſe that left the Towne at firſt, and thoſe that now left the world, by this, my owne Congregation was reduced to a ſmall number.

The Towne was put to a narrow Scruteny, Sellers were ſearched with ſpits, as well as lofts, in each of which, much proviſion was found againſt the oathes of the owners. In the Fryeries, againſt their vow of poverty, were found Trunkes of Plate and Money, with other Treaſure, which howſoever they owned them not; yet being the goods of Rebels, it was their little praiſe to be the receptacles of them.

This worke was made ſome mens daily imployment, and for a while paſſed few dayes without reaping ſome fruit, and yet all that could be gotten, was no ſooner equally diſtributed, but by ſo many Cravers was preſently diſpatched.

In

In this extremity ſome mutinies were broached among the ſouldiers, but wiſely ſtopped againe: The very Engliſh as well as the Iriſh for want fled to the enemy. Now feares were daily rumoured by the Rebels party within, ſome bravadoes made by the Enemy in ſome ſhowers of their ſtrength in the day time without, threatning the hazard of a thouſand men, but they would make a breach in our wals, ſome where or other, which was confirmed by the report of ſome Peeces of Battery, Sir *Philim O Neile* had ſent for from the North to that end, every Night they burnt ſome Towne or other of Corne near us, and were now in a dayly expectation of ſome conditions to be offered by us for a ſurrender, which as we were informed, by ſome that came from them, they had famed already by ſome lying counterfeite Letters, pretended to be wrot as from my Lord *Moore*, and the Governour, to animate their ſouldiers in the aſſurance of it.

Our expectation of reliefe by Sea ſtill failed us, ſo that we were compelled to man out a little Friggot our ſelves to *Dublin*, with ſome Commiſſioners to relate our miſery, which we feared they were not ſenſible of, and after much inconſtancy of windes in driving her often in and out, at length, *February* the 7th. ſhe went to Sea, paſſing the Barr without any prejudice by the Enemies, only they honoured us ſo farre as to beſtow two Peeces of Ordnance upon her for a farwell, but touched her not, and yet in two ſeverall places they were planted ſo near the channell (as we now finde their works) that one would thinke it were a wonder ever to miſſe.

The ſame day we made a ſally out in the face of the Rebels North-ward, burnt two or three of their lodgings, and fetched in forrage and other proviſion for a ſufficient baite of three or foure dayes, the envy of which cauſed thoſe near hand to gather into a body of foure or five hundred,

which were ſoone affronted by as many of ours readily drawing out, or rather running, ſo glad were our ſouldiers of the freſh aire, and the ſight of ſuch whom they had only heard of before in their darke Alarums, ſcours on each ſide diſcharged, and ſome ambuſcadoes which lay in ditches gave fire, and thus a skirmiſh paſſed in our ſight from the wals, but for the body of them, no provocation could draw them to a further meeting us, then their uſuall ſtand at a long ditch caſt up breaſt high for that purpoſe: The iſſue was, ſome of theirs were ſlaine, but of ours not one, onely by the breaking of a little Braſſe-peece, a Gunner was hurt, which yet gave them ſuch a rugged ſalute, that very abruptly they tooke leave of us; and ſo drawing towards Night, with ſhoots on both ſides we parted.

That Night our Governour thought fit to make a darke inquiry of their ſtrict Diſcipline on the other ſide the River, twenty Musketeers ſtumbled upon their Court of Guard, and killed ſome of them, with their Centinels, the reſt fled, the number was uncertaine; but by the cryes of ſuch as eſcaped, whom they heard lamenting the ſlaine, it appeared to be ſome competent number, which ours taking their words for, without further ſearch returned.

This good ſucceſſe encouraged us to many others, *February* the 11th. in the afternoone, upon ſome notice given us by our ſcoutes of that ſide being cleare, and good Corne ſtill ſtanding in ſtackes, there iſſued out forty Musketeers, under the command of Lieutenant *Greencham*, and twenty Horſe under the command of *Cornet Conſtable* to guard the reſt appointed for bringing it in, unexpectedly there appeared foure hundred of the Enemy which were newly come out of the North, not above an houre before, and approached without doubt of making a prey of ſuch a handfull, ours inſtantly drew up boldly, and were within halfe

halfe Musket-ſhot before they gave fire, as if out of courteſie they would give them the onſet, but finding them ſtill dumbe, charged them, which ſo tooke with them, thas they inſtantly ſhogged, and with the comming in of the Horſe were routed threeſcore, with a Lieutenant, and an Enſigne were killed, nine taken priſoners, with another Enſigne, and ſeverall Serjeants, two Colours brought home in triumph alſo, the one taken by *Cornett Conſtable*, the other by Lieutenent *Greymes*.

With the Priſoners were found abundance of chained Bullets, Slugges, Hookes, and other chained ſmall ſhot, of purpoſe to make every wound incurable; one who tooke himſelfe to be a great Gentleman amongſt them, having quarter given him, dyed upon his examination after he vvas come hither, who upon his ſtripping, was found begirt vvith a Saint *Francis* Girdle, by which Benediction of the Actors, the Fryers affections were evidently diſcovered to be the cauſe, what vertue it might have for the ſaving of his ſoule, I vvot not; but for the body it had ſo little, that it could not preſerve it ſelfe, for hee was ſhot juſt through it, the three devoted Knots beeing dyed from gray to red with his bleud.

The next day they ſallied out further with the like ſucceſſe, in getting ſome graine, burning tvvo of their Tovvnes, and taking ſome Priſoners. The poore ſouldiers feaſted themſelves with their Milke and Beere (which for haſte in ſome places they had abandoned) loaded their backs vvith ſome more laſting proviſion, and clad them vvith ſuch Cloathes, as had bin taken from their fellovves at *Melliſont*.

By theſe Sallies hovvſoever the Horſe vvere vvell refreſhed for a ſeaſon; yet the Foot fell novv into a further extremity, the Tovvne being ſifted, and that pillage vvhich could be gotten (vvithout too much hazard) being vvaſted, Horſe-fleſh, Doggs and Cats began to be good meat amongſt them; vvhich being ſuddenly made knovvne to me, vve appointed the very next day (though Sunday) to be kept in a more ſolemne manner then ordinary, to beg our bread of God ſome vvay or other, to proclaime a Faſt, vvas but to enjoyne that vvhich neceſſity had inforced, and properly for a religious one, it ſhould be a voluntary act: Faſts are called Sabbaths, but vvith us novv every Sabbath vvas become a Faſt, ſo that that diſtinction according to the ancient Canons could not binde us; but ſtill ſee the accepting of our very intentions, that very Sunday, *Februarv* the 14 h. was there a booty offered to us of above foureſcore Covves, and tvvo hundred Sheep, which ſome Horſe and Foot inſtantly iſſuing out, returned with the ſpoyle of, by that time vve vvere going to Church, vvhereby my ſubject vvas turned to thanksgiving, That as *David*, we might acknovvledge, *I did but ſay I would confeſſe, and thou forgaveſt*, &c. *Thou preventedſt me with thy loving kindneſſe*, &c. And ſtill this vvas vvith the loſſe of ſome of our Enemies, but of ours (notvvithſtanding the ſhot as thicke as Haile from the other ſide of the River) not one man ſo much as hurt, a Horſe vvas onely ſhot through the eare. The popiſh Tovvneſ-men could not diſſemble their ſadneſſe at the ſight of this reliefe; but it appeared in their faces, and ſpeeches, and caſually a Horſe at the Gate ſlipping out of his Riders hand, and running through the Tovvne, ſome of them could not but expreſſe their joy in hope one Horſeman had beene ſlaine.

Another

Another Sally vvas made tvvo dayes after, on the other ſide, vvith a hundred Foot, and a troop of Horſe, to ſecure the bringing in of ſome Corne, a mile and a halfe off; but by ſome ſecret notice given to the Rebels by thoſe of their ovvne party vvithin, fifteene hundred from divers parts ſuddenly beſet them, our men ran not avvay; but having called backe their Forragers, made a faire orderly retreate through them to the killing of nine of the Rebels (as hath been ſince confeſſed by themſelves) and of ours none ſo much as hurt, onely ſome ſtraglers of poore unarmed men and women, vvho (againſt command) to get ſome Corne) ſtayed too long behinde, they barbarouſly and baſely butchered, vvithout giving them any quarter, to the number of tvventy or thirty, which was revenged not long afterwards.

NOvv Sir *Philim O Neile* being returned out of the North, came very ſhort of thoſe braggs he made vvhen he vvent, vvhich vvere nothing but of great Peeces of Battery, and ſo many thouſands of men vvhich ſhould be able to eat us up inſtantly; but in ſtead of that ſtately march, he inviſibly ſtole hither, lying at *Beanly*, a mile and a halfe from us, three or foure dayes unknovvne, and brought but forty Horſe vvith him, and halfe of thoſe unarmed, by vvhich vve ſuſpected the Scotch had not uſed him very kindely in thoſe parts; yet as ſoone as he vvas diſcovered, he ſent a meſſage to my Lord MOORE, *That he had taken all the Townes in the North but tvvo, which were alſo at his pleaſure. That the vvhole Kingdome was in the like caſe,*

and

and ſtill wondred DROGHEDA *ſhould be ſo ſingular as to thinke to hold out, and to bee delivered out of his hand (ſee a little* RABSHECAH*)* yet againe proteſting his Love to him, and renevving that offer of their former honours, vvith aſſurance of being payed to a penny all his dammages: But if not, gave him vvarning before ſuch a day to prepare himſelfe for his laſt; for he vvould then take the Towne whatſoever it coſt him, and that his Lordſhip muſt looke for no quarter from him.

But hovvſoever, vvee vvere ready againſt his day prefixed, yet that feared us not ſo much as the extremitie of Famine, vvhich preſſed, and grew every day upon us, more and more: Inſomuch, that novv nothing but deſperate courſes could I heare thought of, and reſolved upon by ſuch as uſed to be moſt hearty, in the feare of the loſſe of all; at laſt, if they vvere not relieved by ſuch a day, and that very neare at hand, vvhich though the onely poſſible meanes muſt be by Sea from DVBLIN; yet the continuance of ſuch a contrary winde daſhed our hopes that way alſo.

This

This *utmoſt extremity* ſeemes to me, to be Gods onely time, when moſt probably he would be ſeene, even when all ſenſe failed, and, methought, beſpoke a preſent extraordinary ſpending a day in his houſe of Prayer, (which we knew not but might be our laſt) as a ſpeciall triall of the fruit of thoſe exerciſes, (as ſometimes the *Lord of Hoaſts* hath bidden his *to prove him*, in ſome caſes of want, *if he did powre them out a bleſſing*, *Mal.* 3. 10. and as an evidence to our very Enemies (who had made the cauſe *Religion*) that we were his Church, and choſen by his ſpeciall providence in relieving us, and ſo by a *common* conſent, though a *private* warning the next day, being Friday, and the eighteenth of *February* was it thus ſet apart, for the *begging our bread* of God, which accordingly, for the ſubject, I tooke the *fourth Petition* of the *Lords Prayer*; This day we continued in the houſe of God from morning to evening, which was bleſt with much affection and *many teares*, we begged pardon of our former *abuſe of his benefits*, renued our *vowes* of better obedience, &c. wherein, howſoever ſome confident paſſages of aſſurance of having preſently an anſwer of our deſires, might well ſeeme to be without warrant, yet ſee the event, that evening the wind inclined, and the very next morning, from the worſt of winds, a *North-Weſt*, it inſtantly turned to the beſt, a *South-Eaſt*, and with ſuch *weather* as we could have wiſhed, and ſo continued. Nay, it went not unobſerved by the *very Papiſts*, as a wonder, that that very evening there were a world of *Roaches*, and other Fiſh taken with Angles, by the Souldiers, never knowne to be found there in the River before, which they drew up for many houres as faſt as they could caſt in. The continuance of which gave a preſent reliefe to moſt; and if a *Sparrow fall not to the earth* without a providence, why ſhould not we judge it a ſpeciall providence when it is for ſupplying the wants of his children *that cry unto him who are of much more value?*

That *Saturday* in the evening, having ſome notice of the approach of our reliefe, we met on the *Sunday* morning *earlier* then we uſed (contriving to have done by the Tide) and in the continuance of the ſame former ſubject, and Petition, bleſſed with the ſame affections, praying that it might now paſſe through the envie and oppoſition of all our Enemies. Now it ſo fell out, that as I was upon the very concluſion of the Sermon, a Meſſenger came into the *Church* with that *joyfull tydings*, that ſome of the Veſſels were come within the Bar, which anſwer of our prayers receiving upon *Gods owne day*, in his *owne houſe*, and

in the continuance of his *owne ordinance*, we took as from God himſelfe, and ſo concluding with all poſſible thankes and praiſe to him, *from whom every good gift deſcendeth*, we went out and *ſaw the ſalvation of God*. When *two Pinaces, ſixe Gabbards, three Friggots*, with *a Shallop*, came all ſafely to us, & all but the two Pinaces that very Tyde came up within our Key, laden with a plentifull reliefe for two or three months proviſion; to which ſomewhat was added by the way too, in the taking of a large *Fiſherboate* of the Rebels, loaden with Herrings, going to ſome of their confederates elſewhere.

By a contrary wind they were compelled to put in by the way at *Skerries*, where not affecting idleneſſe, they landed ſome forces, and burnt ſome townes, and left foure Rebels hanging for land-markes, in revenge of one Engliſh man, whom malitiouſly they had hanged in diſpight of them, the day before. In this relieving us, there was ſomewhat the very Papiſts tooke notice of, as a ſpeciall providence, (*viz.*) Their comming the ſecond time from the *Skerries* hither at once, without caſting Anchor at the Barre; nay, notwithſtanding a Friggot was compelled to ſtay awhile in the reare, for the taking in a Captaine and ſome officers out of one of the Pinaces, yet inſtantly waighed Anchor, and came up that very Tyde alſo: which though it were ſo farre ſpent, that a good way ſhe was compelled to come againſt it, yet arrived ſafely.

Againe, as in the former reliefe, *Jan.* 11. a Barque which they had ſunke in the Channell, was driven out to Sea by the wind, and tyde, to open their paſſage; ſo now having ſtrongly chained together a great many Ship-maſts, with other timber, (which now we ſee caſt upon the ſhoare) bound with a great Cable, and ſupported by ſeven or eight great Boats croſſe the Channell, the very day before the approach of our reliefe, of it ſelfe burſt aſunder; ſo that though a Shallop was ſent in the front with Inſtruments to cut it, yet they found the worke done for them, and ſo was no rubbe at all. And laſtly, that the wind ſhould then turne juſt to fit the Spring-tyde, without which it could have done us but little ſervice, and to be at that inſtant, when the very laſt of our ſtore was juſt ſpent: we muſt acknowledge it to be the *Lords doing* indeed. The conſideration of which ſtopped the mouthes of all our adverſaries with admiration ſtaggered many in their Religion, and hath beene a meanes to incline aboundance of them to us, who have even ſtollen into our *Communion* with out our knowledge, till we have found them there, as plainely and evidently ſeeing Gods hand in it.

While

While our little Fleet was thus under ſaile, in the Channell the Rebels ſpared not their ſhot on both ſides, which was returned them with intereſt; ſome of ours were hurt, one man killed, but of the Rebels not a few. In one of the Gabbards a bagge of Powder, by the accident of a Match, tooke fire as ſhee was neare the Key, but did no other hurt then ſcorch the faces of halfe a dozen of them, who were ſoone well againe; with theſe, beſides our proviſion, we had a ſupply of foure Companies more, which, with ſome other independant foote here before, made up a full Regiment for my Lord *Maure*, and ſo we were now reſtored againe (having by the famine beene much leſſened) to ſixteene hundred foote, and one hundred and fifty horſe, and by this refreſhment we were with ſome confidence the more able to looke about us.

And yet I muſt not forget our great and early deliverance that Sunday morning alſo.

Sir *Phi'. O Neile* marching ſilently with all his ſtrength hee could make, made ſo bold an attempt, that about foure of the clocke he applyed his ſcaling Ladders to the Wals, and in ſpeciall at one place neere Saint *Lawrence* gate at a low private corner (where ſometimes a Sentinell had beene omitted) they brought abundance of them, two of which they had preſently fixed, and on each one mounted; the Sentinell there miſſing fire, they preſumed higher, till he was faine to knock them downe with the butt-end of his Muſquet, and cry out to the Guard, who inſtantly ſo plyed the reſt, with their fill of ſhot, that they left thirteene of their Ladders, and many of their bodies behinde them. Their Commanders urged them, but to cut the Sentinels throate, and the Towne was theirs; but they would not be brought to looke that way again, nay the remembrance of their former repulſes did ſo diſhearten thoſe in the very rear, that their Capt. were faine to drive them on like Sheepe, and to delude them with the aſſurance that thoſe in the Front had taken the Town already, and the gate opened. The like on-ſet was given or attempted at other Ports alſo, ſeconded with many ſhot from the other ſide the River; All our Regiment of horſe and foot were ready in a trice, and ſome ſo quickned that they were ſeene upon the Wals, who had not been out of their beds a fortnight before, ſo zealous was every one to keepe the Towne one day longer: The number of their ſlaine was unknowne by their continuall dragging the dead bodies away. But by an Engliſh boyes relation (who was Drummer to Sir

Phelemy, who in his making haſte to us, ſtumbled over two or three of them lying together in a ditch) may be conjectured there were ſome conſiderable ſtore, but of ours none had the leaſt hurt; ſo that for the bleſſings of that one day, we may praiſe God with the *Pſalmiſt* (*Pſal.* 136. 24, 25.) *O give thankes unto the Lord who hath delivered us from our Enemies, and giveth food to all fleſh, for his mercie endures for ever*: for which, as thou mayeſt well imagine, we did not omit our thankes to God that day; ſo we conceived it worthy of a ſolemne day of thankſgiving ſet apart of purpoſe in the weeke alſo, which we obſerved the Tueſday following.

With this reliefe came a *Proclamation* from the State againſt theſe Rebels, which that afternoone was publiſhed at the Market-Croſſe with Drumme and Trumpet, wherein the priſes ſet upon each of their heads, were farre beyond their worth; Sir *Phelemy O Neal's* valued at 1000. li. *Rely* and others at 800. li. and the reſt of them at 400. li. This ſet the Souldiers a longing for the next skirmiſh, every one hoping it might be his fortune to hit right, two of thoſe of 400. li. weight, (as I am enformed) had beene diſpatched by us before, one at the Green hils, *December* the third, another at *Drumullin*, *January* the ſeventh, who was by my Lord *Moores* Troope beat into the water, and ſo drowned; whoſe body was now caſt up by the River ſide, but his head not thought worthy the cutting off.

About this time we had ſome intercourſe by meſſages of a milder nature from other Rebels in parts more remote: A Pacquet of Letters were ſent to my Lord *Moore* out of the North, tranſcribed indeed by his Siſter the Lady *Blany*, but it was evident all was of their inditing or correcting; The ſumme was an offer either of all their priſoners in *Ulſter* for my Lord *Maquire*, or elſe my Lady *Blany* with her Children and Siſters, and other Gentlemen in and neare the Caſtle of *Monaghan* for two other of their priſoners in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, for the ſollicicing of which, the Lady *Blany* had a forme of a Petition, framed to the Lords, Juſtices and Councell, and other private Letters, both to my Lord *Moore*, and divers of her friends, for their earneſt motion and proſecution of it for her ſafety, which according to the directions, after my Lord *Moores* viewing them, was to be ſent back to thoſe Rebels from whence it came, to be proſecuted by ſome of their own approved Agents. Though the perſon mentioned to be this charitable mover, was clapt up before it came to his hand. And herein I cannot let paſſe unobſer-

obſerved, how their malice and barbarous cruelty to ſome other of their priſoners did ſo blind their reaſon, that it hath now much wronged themſelves; The baſe treacherous butchery of my Lord *Calfield*, at Sir *Phelemy O Neil's* owne houſe, whether out of a pretence of favour being removed, was no ſooner entred, but as he was walking, a fellow came behind him, and with a brace of bullets ſhot him quite through the back: The perfidious ſudden hanging of Maſter *Rich. Blany*, becauſe he would not go to Maſſe: Their unpattern'd falſhood to another Gentleman, who by the promiſe of his life, had beene drawne to Maſſe, and received the Sacrament; preſently *Maquire* told him he would never be ſo fit for God againe, and ſo giving him choyce of a rope, or a with, inſtantly hanged him, according to which we heare they have uſed many more; Their drowning of foure or five hundred Engliſh at *Porta Downebridge* (which for the ſtench of the multitude of dead bodies there, they call now in deriſion *Downe-ſincke*) And other places in the North, by three or foureſcore in companies, of men, women, and children, whom after their promiſe of ſafety, ſuddenly they threw over into the rivers: At the *Newry* they put one hundred Engliſh into a Gabbard with promiſe to ſend them hither, but aſſoone as the tyde ſerved they tooke away their Sayles, and Oares, and left them to the mercy of the winds and waves, and ſo were caſt away: it was a common thing to ſet ſome of the Engliſh aworke with Pickaxes to breake downe the wals of ſome Caſtles after the roofe was burnt, and for their wages, to cut their throats preſently, to lay wagers who ſhould ſtrike the deepeſt gaſh with their ſwords in their thighs or arms, & many ſuch like horrid murthers in coole bloud, meerely for recreation ſake; of which nature, and worſe, thouſands more might be related, even ſuch as no Heathen or Turkiſh Story can patterne for cruelty, which I leave to the relation of others (as thou haſt heard of abundance already in a book of remarkable paſſages) it being not my purpoſe to range any further then the liberties of this Towne, who (thankes be to God) have beene delivered from them, to which I ſhall returne againe.

And here I am remembred of another deliverance which fell out now alſo, as (ſometimes bleſſings like croſſes, when they doe come, are obſerved to come together) (*viz.*) the emptying the Towne of the Popiſh Townſmen (according to a command from the State) who had beene found tampering with the Rebels; An Inventory was taken of all their goods, and put in ſafe cuſtody, till they could approve themſelves

ſelves better then they were ſuſpected, many of them at the gates offered to goe to Church, whom I was willing to have enformed, but being judged heartleſſe, or rather double-hearted, and ſo the more dangerous, it was not accepted of, till they had done a little penance in the Countrey, which being *Aſh-wednſday*, was the fitteſt ſeaſon, yet ſome of the ſobereſt ſort (and who are not moleſted) by thoſe great deliverances, they have ſeene wrought for us, of themſelves have deſired ſatisfaction; In which I ſhould be glad to be employed all day, and every day.

No ſooner had our Pinaces and the other Veſſels unloaded themſelves of their welcome burthens, but a North-weſt wind ſerved them with ſuch weather as they could have wiſhed for their returne; when the ſame day *February* 26. our Governour iſſued out with 220. Foote, & 120. Horſe, Southwards, to a village called *Beaubecke*, to ſecure the carrying in of ſome Corne and Hay from thence, which as ſoone as it was fully pillaged and burnt, he advanced ſomewhat further towards *Smiths towne*, where being informed by his Scouts of five Companies there ready to withſtand him, he had the greater minde to proceed, his men needing little incouragement, and ſo drew up to them, who no ſooner felt the ſmart of our ſhot, and the troopes of Horſe (which of all is moſt terrible to them) ready to proſecute, but they inſtantly broke, every man contented to loſe his Armes to ſave his life; nay, ſome rid themſelves of their cloathes for the farther ſpeed, and ſo there were ſlaine about 300. of them, two colours taken by Sergeant Major *Forteſcue*, and Captaine *Bryan*, a Drumme, and an Enſigne taken Priſoners, of Cowes about eightſcore, with all other ſorts of pillage of good value, ſo many were ſhot in the river of *Gillingtowne*, that the water was all red with their blood: The ſight of thoſe twenty or thirty unarmed men and women murthered by them a weeke before, (whom they left there in the ditches unburyed) enraged our men the more to a revenge, whom the Pyoners in the meane time interred.

In this particular, it was obſerved as a part of Divine Juſtice, that the ſlaughter of them ſhould be in the ſame field, where they had defeated ours, in which as we gave them an even repay, ſo it fell out alſo, that ſome of the ſame Captaines had a hand in it, who had beene then routed, whom Sir *Patricke Weames* (having the Command of the Earle of *Ormonds* troope) in remembrance of that dyſaſter, ſhewed them the leaſt

leaſt mercy; Colonell *Preſton* was hard put to it, who for haſte left a Portmantua of his beſt cloathes with his rich military belt behind him, which fell to be the booty of a Horſe-boy, in the pocket of whoſe breeches was found three Letters of more worth then himſelfe, whereby evidently the Lord *Gormanſtone*, *Trimleſtone* and divers others were firſt proved Traytors.

The next morning, it was thought neceſſary to proſecute this unexpected victory as a probability of raiſing the Siege, ſo they were taken before they could gather to any head againe, which howſoever being Sunday, our Religious Governour was very ſlow to it, as deſirous rather to have ſpent that as a day of thankeſgiving to God, for the good ſucceſſe of this day, yet being for the neceſſary preſervation of the Corne, and other things, which they had reaſon to ſuſpect would elſe be inſtantly fired by them, he conſented to it, and ſo very early by breake of day 600. foote, and 120. Horſe, under my Lord *Mowrus* Command (after we had by Prayer commended them to Gods Protection, (which in the like expedition was ſeldome omitted) marched out with carriages, and two field pieces. But the firſt Caſtle being within halfe a mile of us called *Stamine*, where there was a great haggard of Corne, (which beyond their firſt reſolutions they thought fit to viſit by the way, and where they ſuppoſed there had not beene a man) they found ſo intrenched, and fortified, that it proved more difficult then was expected, yet our men drew up boldly to them, within piſtoll ſhot, and though it was not the intent of that dayes worke, yet being provoked, beſtowed thouſands of bullets amongſt them, to the death of many of the Rebels in their Trenches, but by the ill ſhots of our Gunners (who ſtill miſſed the houſe) with the fall and continuance of abundance of raine, whereby their matches were waſhed out, they were compelled to retreate; and ſo came dropping wet home, yet by Church-time, to give God thankes for their great preſervation, who though continuing ſo long in that imminent danger (which they dreamed not of, at their going out) yet was there not a man loſt in the place, onely ſome of ſlight wounds by poyſoned bullets, and want of good medicines, miſcarryed a long time afterwards, and in the meane time, ſome were ſent to the next village of *Colpe*, where they loaded themſelves with their Corne, and returned, without any oppoſition: And not many dayes after upon the hearing of our preparation for a reply, the Rebels in the aforeſaid Caſtle of *Stamine* abandoned

doned it of themſelves, and ſo it fell into our hands without beſtowing one ſhot more.

And here it hath beene reckoned as a thing very obſervable, that in all theſe onſets, invaſions, and Sallies out, (howſoever multitudes have dyed of the famine, divers unarmed pillagers met with abroad, have beene taken and butchered, ſome dyed of wounds by the unskilfulneſſe of the Chirurgion, and the like) there hath not hitherto beene killed of armed men upon the place in fight (as I have beene enformed) above twelve of ours, and not one Officer; and of thoſe, there was but one man that was not fetcht off from them, and that is accounted the due of his too much preſumption, who at the aſſault of a houſe charged, and diſcharged his musket twice or thrice againſt the very doore, where there were many playing at him from within, and ſo ſtood as a marke for them, without ſo much as ſtirring a foote of his ground, but of the Rebels how many hundreds, if not thouſands, have beene killed, may eaſily be ſummed up in the reading. This wonderfull preſervation was I beleeve the occaſion of that falſe rumour raiſed by them, as if ſome of ours had ſold their Soules to the Devill to be ſhot-free, and yet at other times to encourage their Souldiers (who were continually upon their flight) they would upon moſt Sallies perſwade them of hundreds of ours ſlaine with many Commanders (of whom ſome had dyed often in their reports) when there was not one, nay ſcarce would they ſuffer them to beleeve their owne ſenſes, that any were killed of theirs: Howſoever, thoſe of the ſoberer ſort were much convinced of the cauſe, by the event, apparently ſeeing that God was with us.

After one dayes reſt, *March* the firſt, my Lord *Moore*, and the Governour went out againe the ſame way, with a competent number of Horſe and Foote, when (after the ſecuring in of at leaſt two hundred pounds worth of Corne, by foure Companyes under the command of Sir *John Borlace*, and the burning of ſuch of their lodgings, as had remained of the former dayes work at *Colpe*,) they advanced further, their firſt reſiſtance was two Companies of the Rebels, ſtealing along the ſide of a Ditch, who being diſcovered Captaine *Billinſley* was ſent with 80. Musketteers, and comming as unexpectedly upon them, as they had entended upon us, were ſoone routed. A Lieutenant with thirteene Souldiers were ſlaine, and a Captaine of the *O Neales* taken priſoner; the reſt eſcaped into the Caſtle of *Stanime* by the helpe of a Bogge, which

which ſtopped the horſe in their chaſe: the Caſtle of *Colpe*, after much hazard of ſuch as firſt entred it, by the Pikes and ſtones throwne of thoſe within, whereby they were three or foure times beaten downe the narrow ſtaires, at length was taken, where they killed them every one, to the number of twenty ſixe perſons; and yet neither then, nor all that day was one of ours loſt. With the Captain taken priſoner, wee found many Petitions, two Letters ſuperſcribed to Sir *Phelemy O Neile*, with the title of Earle of *Tyrone*, and Generall of *Ireland*: But yet the foundation upon which thoſe airy honours were built, was the condition of his taking this Towne, but that day his Excellency was much humbled (who unknowne to us) had ſtole over the river, onely with five men, and by our unexpected approach (being cut off from ſecuring himſelfe where he intended) crept into a buſh, and ſo lay like a trembling Hare in his Forme, till the evening, (where being ſo neare us) he had good lucke he was not ſtarted up by ſo many hunters, which needs muſt have beene the beſt ſport that day; Some rough abuſive greetings paſt and repaſt from each ſide the river, (which parted them from any other then ſuch a tongue combate) ours giving them lawfull warning of a viſit ſhortly, and that not by a cowardly creeping in the darke (according to their cuſtome) under our wals, but at noone day, when we might be viſible, asked for their drunken Generall, in deriſion of whom, ſome of our Trumpeters gave ſome ſcornefull muſicke, and for one Piſtoll of theirs, diſcharged in defiance, we returned them ten, and for one Muſquet, twenty, and thus our Souldiers in their retreat, ſtretching their throats to be heard with ſuch kinde of language, they made up a merry end of that dayes skirmiſh.

Some Engliſh now, as at other times, tooke the opportunity to get from under their thraldome, and enformed us of ſome advantages, whom commonly they put in Trowſes to be taken for Iriſh, and in the front to be firſt killed, yet they uſually ſcaped, from theſe we underſtood by what lying practiſes they had kept their Souldiers from running away lately.

March the third, ſome other forces marched out under the command of Lieutenant Colonell *Waineman*, early in the morning, who advanced as farre as *Marlingtowne* about three miles from us, where by the former frights they found the Towne abandoned, ſo that their whole worke that day was to reape what was left, for which all ſorts were permitted to goe forth for pillage, the lanes were ſo thickned with all

ſorts of graine, that the Spring ſeemed to be Harveſt, and the *Vernall equinoctiall* to be miſtaken for the *Autumnall*, ſuch loads of Corne were mounted upon horſes, that upon the hils, they looked like moving haggards, by which our great extremity was turned preſently into plenty, and whereas our chiefeſt want was Malt, the whole Towne (having drunke nothing but water for a weeke) were now ſet a brewing againe, and for expreſſion of joy there wanted no Bonefires of three or foure Townes together, whereby a cleare day grew dusky by the ſmoake: A faire houſe of one *Draicots*, (who by the Rebels was newly created Viſcount *Marlington* for his merit in the cauſe) made the cleareſt light, which was done the rather in a juſt revenge of his fraudulent diſarming many of our Souldiers as they were making hither from the bridge of *Gillingſtone*, his Library (with what could be preſerved from the fire) was brought in hither, and ſold us at very eaſie rates, a very faire large Parchment Manuſcript of an old *Miſſall*, conſecrated to that Church of *Marlington*, cam to my hands, the loſſe of which I preſume they have valued more then their houſes.

By the ſight of this good ſucceſſe our Enemies grew ſicke of envy, and in a diſcontent left their houſes; yet in the midſt of this cheare, we had the feare of a rubbe, by the running aground of a Friggot comming up from the Pinace with Powder, but by being Maſters of the field on that ſide, we were not much troubled; the Rebels got into ſome Boats, and played thick upon her, whom ours replyed to as faſt, many ſhot they made with a great braſſe piece, but ſtill miſſed her, at length the Pinace gave ſo fortunate a one, that it diſmounted theirs of its carriage, and at laſt when they found little fruit by their gunnes, they aſſaulted us with their tongues, a company of them approaching neare the River ſide, called ours Rogues and Traytors, their anſwer given them, was by a few Muſqueteers, who under the covert of ſome fires diſcharging, put ſome of them to a *non-plus*, and the reſt to their heeles; And ſo our men being then abroad, continued there for the ſecuring her till the next tyde at tenne a clocke at night, when they left her afloate againe; And yet alſo to divert their thoughts that way, our Governour cauſed ſome Muſqueteers about midnight to ſally out on the other ſide, and gave two or three vollies of ſhot, which raiſed them through their quarters to ſtand upon their owne defence, and ſo the next tyde that danger was over.

And now the Beſiegers tooke themſelves to be the Beſieged, many privie

privie Counſels of darkneſſe were ha l ſeverall nights, at divers places they met, and knocked their wiſeſt heads together, but they ſtruck out nothing but folly, Their multiplyed barrels of Powder made at *Dungannon*, would not take fire, yet ſtill they ſet braſen faces (their ſtrongeſt defence) upon the buſineſſe, in threatning each day to take the Towne, by an inviſible hoaſt ſomewhere approaching, great ſtate they tooke now upon them, expecting we ſhould give them the viſits, and when we did, they daigned us not ſo much courteſie as to meete us out of doores. But I beleeve thou longeſt to ſee the concluſion, from which I will not now long detaine thee.

March the fifth, there iſſued out foure hundred foote and foure-ſcore horſe under my Lord *Moores* command; on the other ſide Northward amongſt his owne trayterous Tenants, to *Tallagh-hallen*, where *Collo mac Bryan*, with his complices had beene billeted, and whither (unknowne to us, or elſe we had doubled our ſtrength) had beene the night before crept ſecretly, the whole fraternity of Rebels to lay their heads together upon ſome forlorne counſels, wanting not Sir *Phelemy O Neil* himſelfe for their Preſident; They appeared inſtantly eight Colours in view, three for one of ours, many had intrenched themſelves in a ſquare body within the Towne, and ſo played upon advantages, but our men (Lieutenant Colonel *Byron* commanding the foot) declined them not, but with as much alacrity as their Commanders could have wiſht drew up boldly, and gave fire ſo thick and ſure, that after the Rebels had replied to three or foure rankes, they were weary of it, and ſo finding many dropping among them, betooke themſelves to the laſt refuge of their heeles; neare foure hundred, with ſeven Captaines were ſlaine, and one taken priſoner, *viz.* *Rory*, Mr. *Art*, Mr. *Roſſe*, Mr. *Maghon*, and one Colours; which had beene but the earneſt of many more, had they not (as ſome were ſeene) ſlipped them off their ſtaffes, and put them into their breeches, one *Art Roe*, Mr. *Patricke*, Mr. *Art Moyle*, *mac Maghon*, of great repute among them, (lately created by them Lord Baron of *Monaghan*, and whoſe head is valued beyond its worth in the Proclamation) was taken Priſoner, who being ſore wounded to the loſſe of one of his eyes, and perceiving by the other his inevitable end approaching, politickly ſtripped himſelfe ſtark naked, and ſo lay as dead among the ſlaine, till afterwards upon a view by Lieutenant Colonell *Byron*, who caſually finding him with a Saint *Francis* girdle (which for good luck he ſtill kept about him) and deeming him by

that to be a man of ſome quality, commanded one of his Souldiers to cut off his head; upon the affright of which, the Varlet roũz'd himſelfe, and was ſoone recovered of his ſpeech, who inſtantly declaring himſelfe, and aſſuring that the ſaving of his life ſhould be the redemption of my Lady *Blany* and her children, he was preſerved, and accordingly, hath wrote effectually for that welcome exchange, but as yet we finde him not ſo valued by them, who (having thus long failed our expectation) he is every day in the way of preferment to be hanged; And thus Saint *Francis* his Cord proved farre from being a Girdle of verity, which being given him for his preſervation, proved very falſely the ſole occaſion of his deſtruction. A hundred Muſquets were taken, and Pikes covered the ground every where, which the purſued were willing to be eaſed of, for the quicker ſpeed; others ſecured themſelves by a Bogge near hand, who upon their gathering thicke were ſo roughly admoniſhed by a Drake from us, that they ſoone removed their ſtandings farther off.

And in all this hot skirmiſh in ſight of our very wals wherein they made their moſt deſperate reſiſtance (ſuch was ſtill Gods goodneſſe to us) not a man of ours was ſo much as hurt by them, one of our Officers was ſhot in the foote, but it was by a Souldier of our owne, and the Bullet firſt paſſed through the head of one of the Rebels. And here I muſt not let paſſe one merry paſſage, they had brought with them out of the North, an old woodden Image, called *Mac Kill Murragh*, (*i. e.* the Sonne of *Mary*) by which it is very common amongſt the Iriſh to ſweare, this venerable block did they repoſe much confidence in, for the taking of this Towne, and when it came firſt amongſt them, it was received with acclamations of joy, like the *Arke in the Camp of Iſrael*, to ſave them from the *Philiſtims*, & for good luck, was this time at *Tallaghhallon*; But as ſoone as this hot worke beganne, his Guardian tooke care with the firſt to poſt him away on horſe-backe, and in leaping a ditch, the horſe threw the fellow and *Mac Kill Murragh* in the dirt, that two others were faine to take him up upon their ſhoulders, and to trot with him (with the loſſe of ſome of his limnes) towards *Dundalke*, as I have been ſince told by one of their own profeſſion; our Governor in the meane time with ſome horſe and foote iſſued out toward *Beauly* to provoke their Generall Sir *Phelemy O Neile*, (as ſuppoſing he had not yet left that lodging) burnt *Newtowne* under his noſe, and beate two Colours (which was all that appeared) into the Caſtle, and returned the ſooner upon hearing that hot worke, with an intention (if neede were)

were) to have relieved my Lord *Moore*, but by that time he had marched halfe way, the bright firing of three or foure Townes thereabouts gave ſufficient aſſurance of the victory, and ſo made a ſtand; At the firſt bluſh, comming that way he was miſapprehended to have beene Sir *Phe'my* himſelfe (whom as yet ours knew not had beene amongſt themſelves) and the number by their open March appeared to have been a thouſand.

The Souldiers had got their fill of all ſorts of pillage, and howſoever (in that hot proſecution a mile or two about) they might be thought to have enough of that mornings worke, yet were they ſo eager to have beene at it againe, that they ſued to their Captaines to let them meet him preſently, offering to throw all their ſpoyle downe to make an end with him at once, but upon a ſecond inquiry they were found to be their friends. In this my Lord *Moore*, by the acclamations of all men, behaved himſelfe very valiantly to the greater hazard of his perſon, then his Captaines were pleaſed with, was cut through the boote with the ſword of one whom (having newly diſcharged his Piſtols) he had ſtruck under his horſe with a halfe Pike, the fore-part of his Saddle runne through by another, his horſe hurt, all ſpattered with the dirt, which the thick flying of the Bullets raiſed, but had no other hurt; In this deſperate fight, being once diſcerned, two hundred of the Rebels gathered, and made up towards him, onely crying out, This is my Lord *Moore*, when (the reſt of the horſe in ſeverall Diviſions, being upon a proſecution) he had but ſeven in his Company, yet he retreated not, but charged them, many were killed, the reſt ſcattered, and were ſtill leſſened by their purſuers.

This famous *Generaliſſimo*, Sir *Phe'emy O Neil*, with his great Commanders, fled away very obſcurely, and meanely attended, unleſſe it were with the following curſes of the whole Countrey, with which he is ſtill greeted by all ſorts; many of our Gentlemen whom he had with ſuch vaine hopes deluded, hath he here left lamenting their miſerable condition which they foreſee deſervedly approaching.

And thus as our worthy Governour on the Saturday before had the honour in the beginning of the raiſing of our Siege on the South-ſide by a retaliating ſlaughter of ſo many of them at the fatall Bridge, ſo were we all pleaſed that this next Saturday on the North-ſide, my Lord *Moore* (to whom we were beholding) as our firſt ſuccour at the riſing of theſe Commotions, and our chiefe continued ſupporter in his large

and liberall expenſes upon all occaſions, to the great encouragement of the Captaines and Commanders, by ſupplying them in their extreame great neceſſities) ſhould have the honour of giving them their laſt in their diſperſing.

The fruit of which beganne that very evening to appeare, when ſome of the Engliſh now eſcaping from them, came in and gave us notice that the Caſtles of *Beauly* and *Stanime* on each ſide the river were deſerted by the holders, and Sir *Phelemy* with the reſt of that neſt being fledge, were flowne away with ſome field-pieces towards *Dundalke*, into each of which our Governour inſtantly ſent ſome Companies, who accordingly entered without the leaſt reſiſtance, rounded the Countrey the next morning, two or three miles as farre as *Termonfecken*, but found not a man, onely a world of Corne, which in that haſte they had not time to fire.

By this our Towne was filled with proviſion, Ports beganne to open, our neighbours making ſute to be admitted to our Market, Caſtles neere hand voluntarily ſurrendred, the owners ſubmitting, and all good mens hearts rejoycing by this ſudden change, begunne and finiſhed in the compaſſe of a weeke; every ſtreet ringing with praiſes to God the Donor, to whom we failed not ſolemnly and publikely to acknowledge it often.

After the Rebels (that had ſo long beſieged us) were thus routed, and ſome of the chiefeſt of their Caſtles neare, poſſeſſed by us, Letters, as well from Lords, as other of the Gentry, came thick in to us, of which, ſome receiving no anſwer, came and preſented themſelves to our mercy; in ſpeciall, one *Bath*, who about the middle of *December* had came in with his Iriſh Dart accompanied with the Sheriffe of the County of *Louth*, (both Commiſſioners from the Rebels) and very confidently and arrogantly demanded the ſurrender of this Towne, who at firſt was aſhamed to owne the knowledge of me by reaſon of ſome ſpeeches that had then paſſed betweene us, the event of which had proved beyond his beliefe or expectation. The Letters of the Lord *Netherfield* and the Lord of *Slane*, with divers others of the chiefe of the Countrey have I ſeene under their owne hands in a moſt humble ſute to my Lord *Moore*, to ſtand their friend, ſome proteſting their innocency, others pretending themſelves deluded by the Northerne Iriſh, and heavily curſing the firſt plotters of this buſineſſe, and yet we knew they curſed themſelves, and had enough under their owne hands, they little

little dreampt of, to ſtare us right enough in our Judgement of them.

From others we had faigned Letters of the approach of two thouſand of *O Relyes* men, one way, and of eighteene hundred of Sir *Phelemy O Neiles*, another way, and each within five miles of us: But the uſe they had given us of their lyes, and the contradiction which the ſubmiſſion of their Chiefe gave to it, made the newes of no value with us, yet it produced that effect, that to prevent their dry lodgings, there iſſued out ſome competent force to *Slane*, burnt the Towne and the Country neare it, tooke the Caſtle and pillaged it, with which the Souldiers came loaden home. And not long after my Lord *Moore*, and the Governour made a Salley out another way, ſpent the greater part of the day in burning forty or fifty Villages, tooke one *Barnewall* of *Rahsiket*, who was a Colonell among the Rebels, and a great Parleyer from them hither, and had beene many yeares Deputy, *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of that County (as dangerous a fellow by his naturall parts, and other education as any they had,) His Caſtle (after a few ſhot, and ſeeing our men appearing in a full body) he yeelded, where was found ſo much of bread and other victuals, ready baked, that no doubt, he expected the returne of his former Gueſts, beſides foure hundred barrels of Malt, and abundance of all ſorts of Graine, his Cellers full of Wine and Beere, which the Souldiers Feaſted themſelves with, for a while; he with his two Prieſts, taken with him, were (with ſeven or eight Fryers more) cloyſtered in one priſon here, but ſince he is promoted to the Caſtle of *Dublin*.

Darcy of *Plattin* (two of whoſe Sonnes were Captaines among the Rebels, who had the ſtrongeſt and faireſt Caſtle in the Country is fled, leaving his Wife and Family, with about fifty Musketteeres to defend it: This, howſoever the firſt time it was denyed my Lord *Moore*, and the Governour (as it had beene before to my Lord of *Ormond*, who demanded the ſurrender of it in the Kings name, yet the ſecond time hearing of our pieces of battery approaching, gave it up upon Compoſition, and ſo we have a Garriſon there alſo, by which our Towne is ſecurely Flanked on both ſides the River.

After this, by the eſcaping of many poore Engliſh from their ſervitude, we had evident aſſurances of the treacherous meſſages, and plots of our Popiſh Inhabitants, for the betraying this Towne unto them, ſome who never were here before, could name us the men, deſcribe the places, by the neareneſſe to ſuch a Tower, deſigne the time, all which agreeing

agreeing with our former informations and ſuſpition, was a ſure teſtimony.

How many Letters in the midſt of theſe forlorne hopes, have I yet ſeene of theirs in a vaine comforting themſelves, with an aſſurance (to uſe their owne words) that the Almighty would doubtleſſe favour their juſt and innocent cauſe, and their holy intentions. Another I have ſeene of *O Relies* to my Lord *Moore*, that he had no newes, but that powder was in making every where (to uſe his owne words) thankes be to God, and our good King, &c. But we knew at the ſame time he was ſalne ſicke upon the newes of Sir *Phelemies* late routing at *Tallagh-hallan*.

To relate what a change preſently there was in this Towne, from that extremity of ſcarceneſſe and deerneſſe, to what a plenty and cheapneſſe things were come, would be incredible: egges, which during this Siege, one was a rich preſent, worthy of thankes from the chiefeſt, were now fifteene a penny; Hens, at two pence, milch Cowes at five ſhillings, Horſes, which before the Siege, were rated at three or foure pounds, ſold for twelve pence, nay commonly paſſed among friends for a quart of Beere; The fineſt Wheate in the Market for eight ſhillings a Barrell, Fiſh (to which we had beene altogether ſtrangers) multiplyed abundantly, though ſuch a glut in reaſon cannot be imagined to hold many moneths, by the burning ſo many thouſand barrels of Corne, further from us, which they could not bring in.

Many bloody murthers were committed upon the Engliſh Proteſtants, in revenge of this late defeate. At *Atherdee*, they killed all that were remaining there; the next night neere *Slane*, an old Gentlewoman, with her Daughter, and Grandchilde, had their throates cut in their beds; in divers other places they drowned Men, Women, and Children.

The Earle of *Ormond* (Lieutenant Generall) was now not farre from us with 3000. Foote, and 500. Horſe, burning the County of *Meath*, and on the eleventh of *March*, attended with divers Colonels and Captaines, did us the honour of a viſit, and dined here with my Lord *Moore*, at *Droghedah*, who began to recover ſome competent ability, of giving ſuch a troope ſome entertainement. Many at the ſight of the weakeneſſe of our Wals fell into admiration of the poſſibility of our holding out ſo long againſt ſuch a multitude. His Lordſhips intention of being the raiſer of our Siege thus unexpectedly prevented,

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But the Lords Juſtices proving ſtill conſtant to their former injunction, and renewing a ſtricter command for his preſent retreate to *Dublin*, that deſigne (ſo deſired by our Governour as an aſſured meanes of an inſtant reducing the whole County of *Louth*) was put to a ſtand, and thereupon our ſcattered rebellious route, who before were in a trembling fit, now tooke heart againe, and gathered at *Atherdee* and *Dondalke*, whither (as we heard) daily poſted thouſands out of *Meath* and *Louth*, as to their ſafeſt receptacles, and preſumed, not long after, to threaten us with another viſit.

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But the Lords Juſtices proving ſtill conſtant to their former injunction, and renewing a ſtricter command for his preſent retreate to *Dublin*, that deſigne (ſo deſired by our Governour as an aſſured meanes of an inſtant reducing the whole County of *Lowth*) was put to a ſtand, and thereupon our ſcattered rebellious route, who before were in a trembling fit, now tooke heart againe, and gathered at *Atherdee* and *Dondalke*, whither (as we heard) daily poſted thouſands out of *Meath* and *Lowth*, as to their ſafeſt receptacles, and preſumed, not long after, to threaten us with another viſit.

The Earle of *Ormond* ſubmitting in this to the wiſdome of the State, (as preſuming ſome other important affaires were in hand, which might juſtly neceſſitate that command) retreated accordingly, onely

in anſwer to our Governours requeſt, ſent him backe foure companies of Foote, and two troopes of Horſe, with two pieces of Battery. Upon the receipt of which, my Lord *Moore*, and our Governour, (who in all things have proceeded very unanimouſly) for the prevention of a further multiplication of Rebels, which a longer delay might have produced, reſolved to adventure upon the ſame Deſigne themſelves, which they were willing others might have beene honoured with; and ſo upon the one and twentieth of *March*, with one thouſand Foote, and two hundred horſe, they marched that way ward, firſt finiſhed what they had left undone at *Slane* in burning the Towne, and ſome villages in the way: In the Caſtle there was returned againe a Garriſon of twelve men, who by the preſumption of the ſtrength of it had a good minde to hold out, but aſſoone as they ſaw our pieces of battery, yeelded, and had quarter, onely one of our Souldiers formerly runne away from us, there taken, was hanged: about three miles off, ſome bodies of the Rebels appearing, a party of Horſe was ſent out, killed forty of them, and ſo purſued them, till the reſt were employed in burning the Country after them; and ſo continued that day and the next.

The three and twentieth day of *March*, they marched with fire and ſmoke towards *Atherdee*, about a mile from the Towne, in a fallow field, our Scoutes deſcryed the Enemy in two Diviſions, the number is diverſely reported, ſome ſay 1100. ſome 1500. our Governour (according to his wonted cheerefulneſſe, upon any ſuch ſervice) drew all into a *Battalia*, the Souldiers being of themſelves as readily diſpoſed, and longing to greete them, a party of the Horſe was ſent to get betweene them and the Towne, and another party to ſtand between them and a Bogge; a forlorne hope of a hundred men marched before to ſcowre ſome ditches, who ſtumbling upon an *Ambuſcado* of their Muſketteers, beate them out, and in purſuing them fell upon the body of the reſt, who upon the ſight of one of our Diviſions drawing up ſo nimbly after them, betooke themſelves to their heeles, whom our Horſe proſecuted with ſuch ſpeed, as there were about foure hundred ſlaine in a miles compaſſe, beſides ſome others in the Ditches that the very Pyoners knocked downe with their Spades, and not a few periſhed in the bogge, which was the beſt refuge of the moſt.

At the foote of the Bridge ours found ſome reſiſtance, by ſome Muſketteers, placed there in a Tower, but our Governour (diſdaining

ſo

ſo much as a rub in this aſſured victory) found a paſſage over the river, and galled them ſo on the other ſide, that they ſoone abandoned it. The paſſage being thus opened, the Horſe entred, and with a full Carreere chaſed them through the Towne, yet by that little ſtoppe, many of them were gotten too farre to be overtaken. One Lieutenant Colonell, and five Captaines were ſlaine, many fell by my Lord *Moores* owne hands; And (which is ſtill Gods great goodneſſe) not one man of ours loſt, onely a horſeman ſhot in the heele, and a horſe in the hoofe.

Here the Souldiers finding good pillage, and victuals ready dreſſed, tooke up their lodgings that night: The next morning the Governour with a Party of Horſe, went out and burnt the Country two mile about, but ſuffered no pillage to be brought into the Towne, and ſo proceeded towards *Dundalke*, whither all the Country next day poſted with their Cattle, and what elſe was portable, many fore-ſeeing their ruines, came in and ſubmitted, and reſigned their Caſtles.

Upon the ſix and twentieth of *March* being Saturday (when as their bloody deſigne upon us was decreed on that day, ſo hath many of our victories over them falne out on that day alſo, as that at the Bridge *February* the twenty ſixth, at *Tallagh-hall* and *March* the fifth, and this) they aſſaulted *Dundalke*, which the Rebels had to their uttermoſt fortifyed, and by reaſon of the double wals, and double ditch, mariſh ground on the one ſide, and the Sea on the other, the greater difficulty was expected. After the former defeate at *Atherdee*, the ſtreetes of *Dundalke* were well trodden with at leaſt a thouſand Cowes, and two or three thouſand ſheepe, continually paſſing through it the night before, attended with the lamentable cryes, and the wringing of hands of the Owners, mixed with as bitter curſes of the firſt movers.

That morning all the poore Engliſh Proteſtant Priſoners, (ſome of which before were permitted to begge up and downe the ſtreetes) were clapped up with an intent to have hanged them (for which they had provided them ropes) aſſoone as the Towne ſhould prove to be in any hazzard, who yet already had beene almoſt ſtarved. We approached the Towne, about nine of the clocke in the morning, planted our Ordinance upon a little hill not farre from the gate, which 500 of them within defended; A forlorne hope of an hundred of ours drew up, and gave fire at ſuch as were in the Gate-houſe, and for a while there

was very hot worke, on both ſides. At length they within, finding ſome of them to drop, runne away, whom ours perceiving, encreaſed their feares by ſhouting, but their Commanders beate them backe to their guards, and ſo the ſame peale was rung againe by each. At length a Diviſion under the Command of Lieutenant Colonell *Waineman*, of about three hundred, reſolutely approached the Gate alſo, and ſome with pickaxes beganne to beate downe the walls, while the reſt replyed to the Tower with their ſhot. Abundance of great ſtones were powred downe from a Caſtle, yet by Gods goodneſſe no great hurt to any. By the ſight of our mens continued undauntednesſe, with one conſent they ranne all away, upon which that Diviſion entred, and the Horſe purſued them a full gallop to the killing of many of them. But upon the turning towards the next Gate, ſeeing two or three Braſſe pieces planted, and five hundred more ready to receive them, they fairely retreated, But a Caſtle placed at the head of that out-ſtreete, manned with their beſt Muſqueteers, which ours minded not, and for feare of endangering their owne men (at whoſe heeles ours were) had yet ſtood dumbe, now in our returne played very hot upon us, whereby ten of ours were ſlaine, An Enſigne, one Sargeant, and one that carryed the Colours for another, a Horſeman with anothers Horſe was killed alſo, Lieutenant *Francis Moore*, was ſhot upon the ſhouſder-piece of his Armour, which from thence rebounded upon his head, broke the skinne, and ſo ſtucke within his haire, without doing him any further hurt, which if it had beene deadly, ſurely he that made the ſhot muſt have merited ſome extraordinary reward, for as we heard from themſelves, and by all others our priſoners comming from what Quarter ſoever, no mans name was ſo odious with them, and ſo deeply maliced, and threatned, if he could have beene taken.

The loſſe of theſe men (which we were not uſed to) and eſpecially of Enſigne *Forteſcue*, which was the firſt Officer we had ever yet loſt in fight, enraged my Lord *Moore*, and the Governour the rather upon a reſolution of a preſent revenge, who elſe had contented themſelves with the taking the out-Towne for that night, and to have lodged themſelves there till the morning. This Caſtle ſtanding ſo advantagiouſly, and finding it to be ſo well provided with good ſhot, was the onely *Remora* to their proceedings; for the gaining of this, they ſet the Houſes on fire neare it, which howſoever before the wind was not very favourable to their deſigne, yet no ſooner lighted, but it ſeemed ſuddenly

ly to turne, as they would wiſh it, and carryed the ſmoake both into the Towne and Caſtle, choaking them within both; Ours alſo having gathered ſome dry Beane ſtalkes, made them into bundles, and filled them with Towe, and good ſtore of Gunpowder; the Souldiers imployed in that ſervice, tooke them upon their heades, as a ſhelter againſt the ſtones tumbling downe upon them, and under that ſmoaky cloud, got undeſcryed to the very Caſtle doore, againſt which they laid downe their bundles, and giving fire to them by a Traine; blew up the doore; and ſome other boards; by which thoſe within being choaked, and frighted, leapt out at a Window; for the diſcovery of which, a Sergeant of Captaine *Owens*, with five men, upon the condition they might have the pillage of it, entered it, and by the ſignall of the flouriſhing their naked ſwords on the top of the Caſtle, gave notice of being their owne. Upon the poſſeſſion of this, all were revived, and tooke themſelves Maſters of the Towne already; we quenched the fires that had annoyed the former Tenants, and manned it with thirty good Muſquetteeres, who being within halfe Musket ſhot, played ſo thicke into the Towne, that not a man could ſtirre in the ſtreetes, we drew up our pieces of Ordnance againſt the inward Gate, and with ſome ten Wooll packes (found in the Caſtle very opportunely) made a kind of a Bullwarke for our Muſqueteers, both to ſave them from their Cannon, and that they might play over them without danger of any other ſhot, though aſſoone as they perceived this ſecure approach, they troubled us with neither, but left their pieces there loaden.

Our men for diſtinction ſake, againſt the entry of the Towne, put every one a white paper upon his hat; The Governour tooke one Diviſion with a party of Horſe, and drew by the backe part of the Towne towards the North-gate, (out of which they upon the Caſtle had diſcerned the flight of multitudes of them) killed forty in his way.

Sir *Phelemy O Neile*, who not long before had made ſuch bragges, confidently aſſured his men of the death of ſo many of our Commanders, and as an evidence of it, brought forth his owne cloathes into the Market place all bloodyed, as if they had beene ours ſtripped by him, now ſeeing us thus encompaſſing the Towne, and himſelfe like to be taken in the net alſo, ſtole away over the River (in which, divers in that haſte were drowned) accompanyed with divers others, who as they were going, were heard to lament their deſtiny, and curſe that Fatall day, ſcarſe knowing whither to retreate with any welcome.

At a by Gate the Governour entered, firſt, ſhortned ſome of their journey, whom he met there poſting out, and inſtantly ſent a Sergeant to my Lord *Moore*, to ſignifie to him, the Towne was deſerted, and that he might ſecurely move forwards, which as ſoone as by the ſecond meſſage of a Captaine, with ſome Muſqueteers, he received a confirmation of, he marched on, and accordingly found the event, beating open the Gates, tooke poſſeſſion of two Braſſe pieces, and another with the Market place, and ſo about ſeven a clocke at night, they took the Towne, without any further reſiſtance.

The night thus drawing on, and the full tyde, ſecured Sir *Phelemy* in his flight, from our proſecution of him. The number of the ſlaine is uncertaine, but about a hundred of them were killed, at and after the taking of it, and of ours about foureteene, which were loſt upon that unlucky Caſtle onely.

Sir *Phelemy*, after he had gone two miles off, in a ſhew of what revenge he could make, burnt ſome part of a faire Caſtle of my Lord *Moores*, called *Ballymarkomlin*, ſentencing him all the while to be a Traytour to God and the King.

The poore Engliſh Proteſtants, to the number of ſix-ſcore (who had received the ſentence of death, within themſelves) by this ſudden entry of their friends, being ſet at liberty, were almoſt beſide themſelves for joy; Pillage of all ſorts was here found in abundance, as being of late the Treaſury of the County of *Lough*, for the ſhare of which, each Captaine tooke the fortune of his Quarter.

The Souldiers feaſted themſelves with all ſorts of proviſion, which they found dreſſed to their hands, Turkies and Hens were of no value, with them, that (as I have beene told) within foure dayes, there were about 4000. eaten, it was ordinary at one Table to ſee ten, or twenty couple of them, in Ranke and File cut off in an inſtant.

Sir *Henry Tichburne* our Governour behaved himſelfe throughout the whole, very valiantly, in the hazard of his perſon, with the meaneſt Souldier, my Lord *Moore* is accordingly by all applauded, as needing rather a bridle then a ſpurre, in thoſe attempts, each Captaine hath gained himſelfe much honour, and every Souldier deſerves encouragement, who ſhrunke not an inch from what they were commanded. The glad newes of which we were here ſaluted with in the ſtreetes, the next day, being Sunday, juſt as we were comming from Church, in the afternoone, where we had beene praying for that bleſſing upon them.

This

This victory, the breaknecke of the Rebellion North-ward (and with which I may conclude, as compleating our Siege delivery) is by all attributed unto Gods owne handy-worke, which ſucceeded beyond our thoughts or expectation. The number of our men (by the ſo many ſtaying behind at *Atherdee*, and ſtealing backe hither with their pillage) upon Muſter that morning, were found to be but ſeven hundred and fifty Foote, and two hundred Horſe, and there were then neere three thouſand of the Rebels within the Towne, able to have beate us out, being entered: For braſſe pieces, and other ſuch Artillery they exceeded us alſo, beſides the defence which nature had given the place, as well as induſtry.

This poore Towne of *Drogheda*, when they were the beſiegers, there were (as hath beene ſince confeſſed by ſome of their chiefe) ſixteene thouſand ſometimes beſetting us, the famine preſſing us very ſore, ſo that what with death and ſickneſſe, we had not above one thouſand fighting men, yet by Gods goodneſſe, held out foure moneths, and notwithſtanding the homebred treacheries, their mighty onſets and Alarmes, at laſt with a few were routed.

Now that this ſtrong Towne of *Dundalke*, every way ſo well provided, with men, Ammunition, and Victuals, thus to be taken, with ſuch a ſmall number, and in ſo ſhort a time as one day, who can but acknowledge it to be Gods ſpeciall worke indeed, putting an evident diſtinction betweene them that ſeeke him aright, and ſuch as ſeeke after ſuperſtitious vanities? That ſeeing they have boaſted Religion to be the cauſe, God hath declared by the event with which he is pleaſed, in ſupporting ours, ſo fraudulently undermined by theirs, in giving us ſo many wonderfull, if not miraculous preſervations; for which, to him onely be raiſed a monument of everlaſting praiſe, and thankeſgiving, from us, and ours, from one Generation to another; *Not unto us, but to the King eternall, immortall, inviſible, and onely wiſe God, be all honour, and glory, now and for ever*, Amen.

AN

AN APPENDIX OF Some other Occurrences fallen out ſince, in the proſecuting of our victory, and further diſcovery of divers particulars, touched upon in the former Relation.

UPon this quick and ſeaſonable regaining of *Dundalke* (the Key of the North) the State thought fit to continue Sir *Henry Tichburne* there with ſuch an encreaſe of ſtrength as was neceſſary, and committed the preſent Government of this Towne to the Lord Viſcount *Moore* of *Drogheda*, who, as he hath his honour from hence, ſo his Lands lie about it, by which double intereſt, none can be imagined to be more carefull of our preſervation.

About this time we received ſome Priſoners late Inhabitants of this Towne, very luckily eſcaped from the Rebels, taken at the *Skirries* a little

little before Chriſtmas laſt, upon their returne out of *England*, one of which being my Pariſhioner, and examined upon oath, I thought it not unfit to give thee a ſumme of it; As ſoone as their Letters were taken from them, & viewed, themſelves robbed of all, and ſtripped, and come aſhore, they were entertained by one of the Iriſh Lords with this ſalutation, *Ye are welcome out of* England *to be hanged, as all of your profeſſion muſt expect ſhortly.* And not long after in cold and ſnowy weather were turned out of doores without any ſuſtenance, often forced for want of water it ſelfe, to quench their thirſt with Snow.

At *Balruthery*, about eight miles from us (where a Convent of our Friars ſate daily in Councell againſt us) This party heard one Friar *Malone* (who was Vicar Generall to the Catholique Army) aſſuring one of their Captaines, that they would not faile to have Maſſe on Chriſtmas day in Saint *Peters* Church in that ſtarved Towne of *Drogheda*, and at *Chriſt-Church* at *Dublin* by Newyeareſday, not doubting as ſoon as they ſhould take the former, the other would follow with eaſe; That they would make a Bonefire of my Lord Primates Library, rejoycing to thinke how they ſhould warme their hands by it, taking what revenge they could on it, ſeeing he was too farre out of their reach himſelfe; one Friar *Walſh* adding this for a cauſe, in regard thoſe bookes had beene an inſtrument, whereby by his writing and doctrine he had damned more ſoules then now were living: And for my ſelfe, in liew of my *Cuſtodium* of it, my ſentence was to have beene * hanged up by it, and afterwards to have beene beaten to powder. One of our Captaines who was an Inhabitant, and of whoſe diſſike of them, they had had ſome former experience, his torment was the ſame time decreed alſo, (*viz.*) to have put him into a Caske driven full of ſpikes, and ſo to have rowled him up and downe till he had beene dead, with divers the like, forged out of that holy (but bloudy) Iriſh Inquiſition.

This foreſaid Vicar Generall (who bragged he had had his oare in many Conſpiracies before now) This party heard him often declaring

* The like was not onely threatned, but done to *Marlorate* (that worthy and able Divine) by the Papiſts at the Siege of that Towne, whereof he was Paſtor, as ſoone as it was taken, *vid. Præſtantium aliquot Theologorum qui Rom. Antichriſt. præcipue oppugnarunt, Effigies & Elogia per Iac. Ver-heiden Hagæ* 1602. *in vita* Auguſt. Marlorat. *Anno quo Rothomagum obſeſſum occuparunque fuit ab Antichriſtianis noſter* Marloratus *Eccleſiæ Rothomagenſis Paſtor fuit comprehenſus, cujus vitam laqueo abrupere illi qui Romano obſtricti Pontifici egregios ſe ſatellites illo facto declararunt. Martyr igitur veræ quem cauſa, non pœna facit, Anno* 1562. *cum Annos* 56. *vixiſſet.*

the Decree of the Army, to be this, that ſeeing *Drogheda* had beene offered Quarter, and refuſed it, they would kill man, woman and children of all the Engliſh Proteſtants, that by Eaſter day they hoped *England* ſhould be theirs as well as this Kingdome; That they had a great party already, and were aſſured of ſome forraigne aſſiſtance, whereby they would plague the Puritans in *London*, and have the education of the young Prince themſelves, &c. Many treacheries were by this party revealed, which had beene hatched by the like, within our owne bowels: Many horrid Acts committed upon ſome of the Clergy, and other Proteſtants, whom after they had butchered, denied them buriall, and ſuffered the ſwine to feed on them, making a mocke of the greateſt miſery, and tearming the moſt unpatterned cruelty the fineſt ſport, in which none had their hands deeper then thoſe of the very *Pale*, derived of the ancient Engliſh, onely degenerated in matter of Religion.

The lives of theſe Friers, not onely in dicing, gaming, and curſing, whole nights, but alſo in drunkenneſſe, whoring, committing of rapes, and ſuch other laſciviouſneſſe, were ſo lewd, as is not fit for any chaſt eare to be defiled with, and yet all their deſignes forſooth pretended under the cloake of holineſſe and Religion.

Some other Priſoners (upon exchange of the like number of theirs) we received alſo out of the County of *Cavan*, by whom we were informed how the ſame evill ſpirit that reigned here, had poſſeſſed them there alſo, in their treacherous betraying ſuch who had deſerved ſo well of them, robbing, and utter undoing them, who had formerly ſaved their lives, which is too long to be crowded into this corner, onely I cannot let paſſe their barbarous ingratitude to Biſhop *Bedell*, the Biſhop of *Kilmore*, who was ſo addicted to the Iriſh in favouring them, and preferring them above any others, that he incurred a cenſure from the beſt of his friends for it; yet this learned venerable Prelate of ſixty eight yeares of age, whoſe gravity might have turned the edge of malice it ſelfe, did they put out of his houſe in the depth of winter, and incloſed him in a cold Caſtle in the midſt of a Lough, manacled his ſonnes before his face (which himſelfe begged to have beene ſo much honoured alſo) and having rob'd him of all he had, (the Titular Popiſh Biſhop taking poſſeſſion of his bookes, and Manuſcripts, which hee priſed moſt) at length he was removed to a poore houſe, within ſight of his owne, (where divers others of the poore Engliſh Proteſtants were

were by an honeſt charitable Miniſter of the Iriſh birth relieved) and there with griefe and former miſerable uſage dyed, whom they could ſcarce be drawne to allow Chriſtian buriall (dying, ſaith the Popiſh Biſhop, a Heretique) and ſo was laid in the outmoſt part of the Church-yard, as himſelfe had deſired. Such confidence yet had ſome of the religious perſons of that County, of a good ſucceſſe, that an Abbat was heard to ſay in theſe tearmes, That he would not aske it of God in mercy, but in juſtice, that now if the Catholike cauſe did not thrive for his part, let the Devill take them, and their Religion ever after.

But to returne againe to our ſelves, with whom, by Gods bleſſings, all things ſtill proſpereth in ſallying out from one Quarter to another, to the death alwayes of ſome of the Rebels, and without the loſſe of one of ours, ſometimes twenty of our Muſquetteers have adventured to take a drove of a hundred or ſevenſcore Cowes from as many ſcore of the Rebels, lying in ditches upon advantages, and yet have cut them off by tenne or twenty, put the reſt to flight without the loſſe of any men or cattell; Nay, ſome of our Garriſons being not above ſixſcore horſe and foote, when they have been enformed of a thouſand of them gathering and attempting to burne a Village neare them, have made a party out, killed many, the reſt flying, like the wicked, when no man purſued. Some threeſcore horſe, and Dragoneers upon intelligence of ſome neſts of Rebels lurking in divers bodies to the number of five hundred, have marched out ſeven or eight miles, killed one hundred of them, returned with a good drove of Cattell, fired thirty or forty of their lodgings, and all without the hurt of one man; As at *Dundalke*, (to whom we ſtill beare an affectionate relation) the like we heare of daily, very uſually, thus giving notice one to another, by ſuch kinde of fires, like Beacons, on the tops of hils, againſt a common enemy. Much of the like good ſervice is daily done by our Garriſons, eſpecially by my Lord *Moores* foote company at *Melliſont*, under the command of Captaine *Conſtable*, and at *Bewly* by ſome of Captaine *Gibſons* company, under the command of Lieutenant *Greenham*: who let few dayes paſſe without reaping ſome of the Rebels heads. Many who were taken Priſoners, were ſo deſperate, that being threatned to be hanged, made ſuch haſte, that they took ropes & hung themſelves; or being upon the Ladder, threw themſelves off. Not long agone Sir *Henry Tichburne* went with a party about foure miles from thence, encompaſſed a Wood, where he was told *Coll. Mac Bryan* had

lodged with ſome hundreds of his men, the night before killed about one hundred and fifty, burnt the Countrey neere, and without any dammage.

March the 25. my Lord *Moore* being certified of 1300. gathered to the *Naas* in under the Lord *Gormanſtownes* command, and there fortifying the Towne, tenne miles from us, marched very early with two hundred horſe, and ſome Dragoneers, and Muſquetteers (mounted on Garrons, for the quicker march) onely to take a view of their ſtrength, tooke a Scoute with the Lord *Gormanſtownes* owne ſaddle-horſe, drew up to the Gates within halfe Piſtoll ſhot, killed twenty of them, fired the Countrey under their noſes, and all the way hitherwards, returned with abundance of Cowes, and ſixe hundred Sheepe, and yet thoſe who boaſt ſo much of the cauſe of God and Religion, and take themſelves to die in the happieſt eſtate of Martyrdome, had not ſo much faith or courage to make out upon us, and for many that had adventured out elſewhere, were found by ſome *Charmes* * *thruſt-free*, (as they call it) who being knockt downe, the point of a ſword put upon their naked breaſts, it could not be made to enter, or draw the leaſt bloud, which howſoever I was alwayes ſlow of beleeving ſuch fables, yet hearing it ſo often proteſted unto me by ſome Officers upon their owne experience, I could not but liſten to it.

And for paper Charmes, their Religion yeelds plenty of that fruit, and commends the confidence in them, as great evidences of devotion, ſome of which have come to my hands, one being lately taken, with ſome of thoſe Rebels at *Dundalke*, and given me, I have here inſerted the true Copie of, though, I beleeve, it deceived him who put his truſt in it, and by the lookes it ſeemed to have beene much worne in the carriage.

* It is certaine, that at the taking of the *Newry*, a Rebell being appointed to be ſhot upon the Bridge, and ſtript ſtark naked, notwithſtanding the Muſquetteer ſtood within two yards of him, and ſhot him in the middle of the backe, yet the Bullet entred not, nor did him any more hurt then leave a little blacke ſpot behinde it. This many hundreds were eye-witneſſes of, one of which of good truſt hath related it to me. Divers of the like have I beene confidently aſſured of, who have beene provided of ſuch diaboli-call charmes as follow.

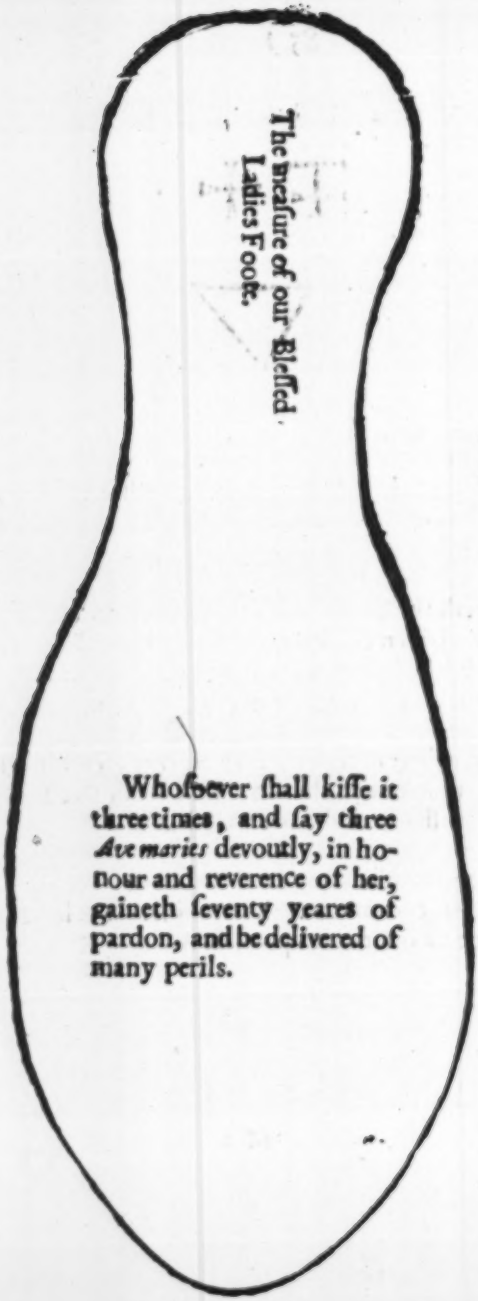
JESVS

JESUS MARIA.

"This is the meaſure of the wound of the ſide of our Lord Jeſus "Chriſt which was brought from *Conſtantinople* unto the Emperour "*Charles* within a Cheſt of Gold as a Relique moſt precious to that ef- "fect, that no envie might him take, and it hath ſuch vertue that hee "or ſhee that ſhall read it, or heare it read, or will beare it about them, "that neither Fire, Water, Tempeſt, Knife, Launce, Sword, neither "yet the Devill ſhall hurt them. And alſo any woman with child, the "day that ſhee ſeeth the ſaid meaſure of the wound of our Lord, ſhee "ſhall not die any ſudden death, in the time of her burthen, but ſhall "be delivered with leſſe paine, and whatſoever they be that deſire this "about them in the way of Devotion, they ſhall not die any ſudden "death, and by the ſight of meditation on this wound, they ſhall "gaine victory over their enemies; and further, care ſhall not dam- "mage them, and moreover, the day that he or ſhee ſhall read it, or "heare it read, they ſhall not die any evill death.

And having thus ſtumbled upon theſe deluſions, I ſhall give thee a view of one or two more, taken at the ſame place, both, as the former, delivered me by one of their owne profeſſion.

IHS



Whoſoever ſhall kiſſe it three times, and ſay three *Ave maries* devoutly, in honour and reverence of her, gaineth ſeventy yeares of pardon, and be delivered of many perils.

"Indulgences granted to the ſacred graine of Saint *Joan*, being a "name of the third order of our bleſſed Father Saint *Frances*, and was "a moſt godly and vertuous Abbeſſe, you muſt make no ſmall account "of them, for the Pope did grant very many Indulgences unto them, "and to other graines, and medals; They containe the vertue of that "graine carried by the Angel-keeper of Saint *Joan* unto Heaven, as "hereafter you ſhall note by the teſtimony of our Saviour.

"They have ſpeciall power againſt Devils, for they are forced to flie "out of the bodies of men, and whoſoever carrieth the ſaid graine a-"bout him needs not to feare no evill. They containe a moſt power-"full vertue againſt Wild-fire, againſt the tempeſt of the Sea, and againſt "all manner of infirmities incident to the ſoule and the body of man, "and eſpecially againſt the Feaver, Peſtilence, the Scabbe, the tentati-"on of the Devill, and of Hereſies, for they have the vertue of the *Ag-"nus Dei*.

"Theſe enſuing Indulgences were granted to theſe bleſſed graines by "our Saviour and our bleſſed Lady, by the interceſſion of Saint *Joan*, "who did impart the ſame unto the reſt of her Siſters at the houre of "her death; Firſt ſay one *Pater noſter*, and one *Ave Maria*, and you "merit as many Indulgences as *Rome* affords that day. After your "Confeſſion and Remiſſion, ſay tenne *Pater noſters* and tenne *Ave Ma-"ria's* in remembrance of the moſt precious bloud of our Saviour; and "you are as innocent from ſinne as when you came out of the Stone, "(*i. e.* the Font) and if you ſay them for any ſoule in Purgatory, his "ſinnes are forgiven him. Our holy Father, Pope *Adrian* the third, "and Pope *Gregory* the ſeventh, did grant unto the graine theſe Indul-"gences following. Say one *Pater noſter*, one *Ave Maria*, *Anima Chri.* and "*Sal. Regina*, you redeeme three ſoules out of Purgatory; ſay the pray-"er of the Croſſe with one Creed, and you bring a ſoule out of Purga-"tory; ſay two Creeds when the Prieſt knocketh his breſt at Maſſe, and "you bring a ſoule out of Purgatory; Adore the Crucifix thirty "three times, and you get remiſſion of ſinnes to thirty three ſoules; ſay "the Creed thirty three times, and you merit as many Indulgences, as "thoſe that viſit Saint *Joan's* Church.

"Confeſſe and Repent on the feaſt of the transfiguration of "our Lord, and at Eaſter, and ſay *Anima Chri.* and you obtaine "forgiveneſſe of all your unperformed oathes; ſay certaine prayers in "the honour of the bleſſed Sacrament upon Chriſtmas day, our Lady

day,

" day, Saint *Francis* day, and Saint *Clares* day, ſay *Anima Chriſti*, in " honour of Chriſts blood, upon Wedneſday, Friday, and Saturday, " and you get remiſſion of all your ſinnes, or the ſinnes of any other " that you pray for; adore the Croſſe upon Friday five times, and you " bring five Soules out of Purgatory of your owne kindred; beleeve ve- " rily and doubt not, that whoſoever carryeth any part or parcell of " theſe holy graines about him, ſhall never miſcarry. *Anima Chriſti*, " *ſanctifica me*, &c.

This ſacred graine, ye ſee, is a *Catholicon*, good for all diſeaſes, preſerves from all manner of evill, incident to ſoule as body, eſpecially from the temptation of the devill and hereſie, but yet not their feete from being ſo ſwift to ſhed innocent blood, their hands from theft, their tongues from lying, and ſuch like, which are neere enough a kin to the Devill. This graine being ſteeped one quarter of an houre, in a hotch-potch of *Ave-maries*, Croſſe prayers, and ſuch like ingredients, the vertue deſcends as low as purgatory, the next doore to hell, abſolves you from perjury, and if you have any part or parcell of theſe graines about you, you cannot miſcarry. Theſe medicines if they were common, would ſurely undoe all our Phyſitians, and Chirurgians, and (as one would thinke) prove a great hinderance to their very Prieſts, whoſe craft (like *Demetrius* the Silver Smith) would be in danger to be ſet at naught.

Some formall conveyances of all the ſpirituall goods of the Fryar *minors*, and the Nunnes of Saint *Clare*, to ſome Gent. Our neighbors as a meanes of preſerving them here, and ſaving them hereafter, *i.e.* a conferring unto them the merits of their Maſſes, Prayers, Faſts, Preachings, Readings, Meditations, Devotions, &c. in ſome requitall of their Almes to them, drawne up under the hand and Seale of the Provinciall, *Anno* 1640. with divers others ſuch deluſions (which to us they would not be knowne) the Originals have come to my hands, but I will not glut thee with any more of them.

Theſe fond ſcroules the ſilly people prize as pearles, but if they found a Bible of ours in Engliſh, how baſely would they uſe it, burning was the beſt end, that came to all they laid hands on, as the like was the deſtiny of all other Bookes of that nature, with which ſome of the owners were more grieved then for the loſſe of their goods.

Nay, ſome Libraries of the Clergy made a prey of; they were ſo violent,

lent, that as *Herod*, to have beene the ſurer of the death of our Saviour killed his owne Childe amongſt thoſe Innocents at *Bethleem*, ſo they burnt abundance of their owne Authours alſo, without diſtinction, where at firſt ſearch, they found but any of ours.

By the death of ſo many men about us, having their houſes, and all their proviſion either burnt or drawne hither, the dogges onely ſurviving, are found very uſually (like that judgement upon *Jeſabell*, for the murther of *Naboth*) feeding upon their Maſters, which taſte of Mans fleſh, made it very dangerous for the Paſſengers in the rodes, who have beene often ſet upon by thoſe Maſtives, till we were as carefull to kill them alſo.

Not long after this, my Lord *Conway* with the *Scotch* Forces, to the number of about three thouſand advanced from *Knockfergus*, as farre as the *Newry*, eight miles beyond *Dundalke*, tooke the Towne upon Compoſition of giving them their lives that were in the Caſtle, which was the rather yeelded to, for Sir *Edward Trevors* ſake, an ancient grave Privy Counſellour of this Kingdome, then Priſoner within it, who elſe by a battery, or the baſeneſſe of thoſe varlets might have beene endangered.

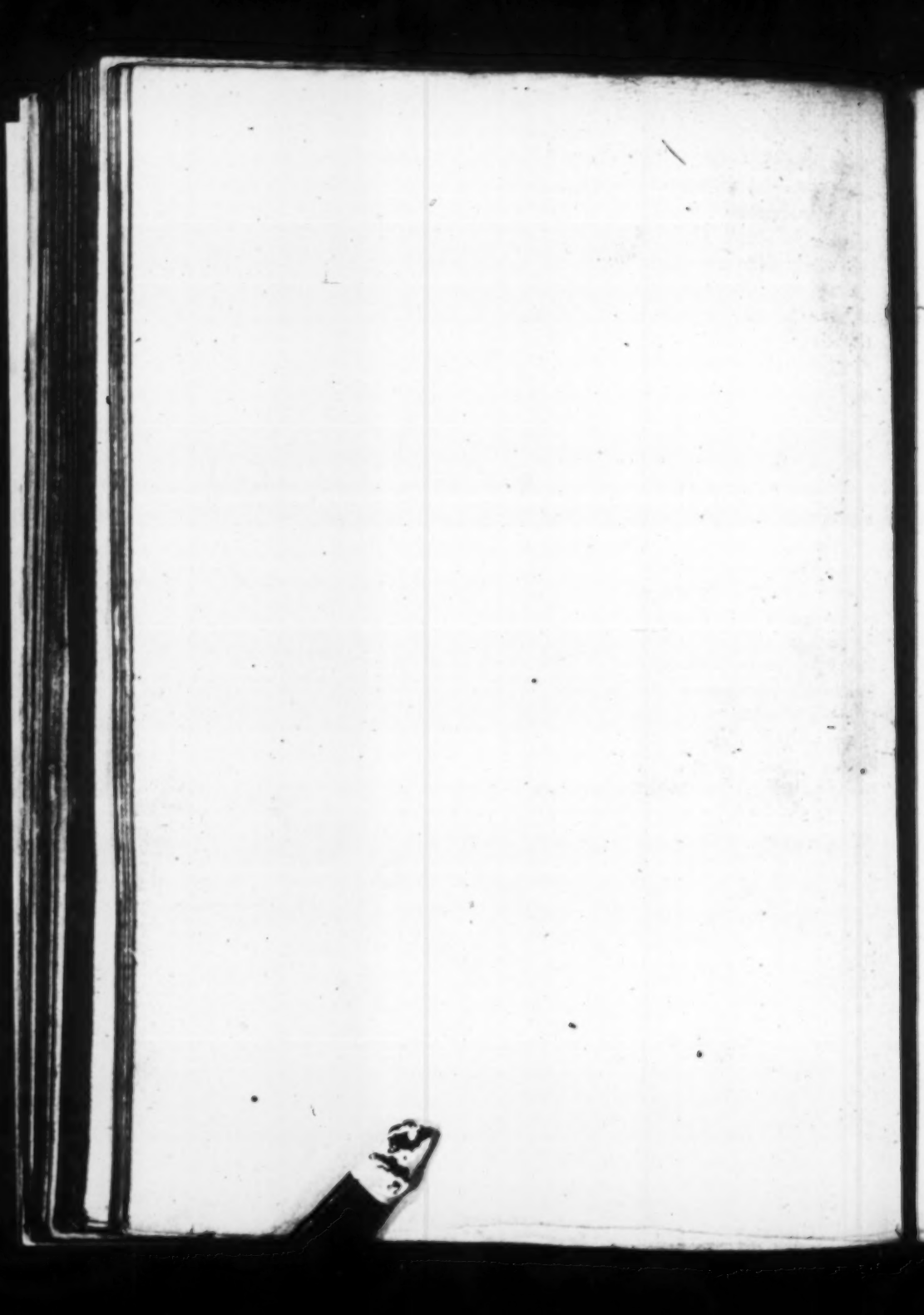
This newes put the Rebels about *Armagh*, ſome ſixteene miles from thence, into ſuch a fright as they preſently fired the Countrey, killed moſt of the Engliſh remaining, burnt all the houſes and the Corne, and fled to *Dunganon*, in the County of *Tyrone*. For the Towne of *Armagh* (Sir *Pheemy O Neile* being there himſelfe) they burnt downe every houſe and Creete in it, burnt the faire Cathedrall (which they had made their Maſſe-houſe hitherto) and the Steeple, ſo that the Bells dropped downe, the cruell murders they committed were it in any other Country would be incredible, about a dozen of the Engliſh clapt up in the lower Goale, they tooke out of the Towne and butchered them; in the upper roome, where the better ſort were, and ſome of the Clergy, they ſet fire to it, intending to have burnt them in it, but they broke open the doore, two of which eſcaped, the reſt were followed, and murthered. An old grave man, one Maſter *Starkey*, of above foure-ſcore yeares of age, Maſter of the Free-Schoole of *Armagh*, whom I knew to be an innocent harmleſſe man, and had beene Sewer to Queene *Elizabeth*, they tooke him with his two Daughters, and at *Blacke-water*, not farre from thence, ſtripped them and drowned them, ſome few eſcaping from thence hither, have filled our eares with ſuch

horrid, and barbarous acts, as I am loath to conclude with them, and indeed they are ſo many, that they would make a booke of themſelves. Yet one particular I cannot omit, as a juſt judgement of God upon him who was the Authour and prime Actor in the burning the Church of *Armagh*, who three or foure dayes after runne ſtarke mad, and ſo dyed within the weeke.

Not long after theſe, came other priſoners to us, eſcaped out of the County of *Cavan* (*June* the firſt) with their mouthes full of the like ſtories, where abundance of our neighbours here, have beene compelled to take Sanctuary, who (though of the ancient Engliſh, yet) are reported to be more ſet upon cruelty then the meere *Iriſh*. There, upon the hearing of that newes of the *Scotch*, having the Command of the Caſtle of *Knockfergus*, the *Newry* and others, they began againe to revive among the common Souldiers, their former imaginary hopes, that the *Scotch* were ſent to take their parts, which they were ſo credulous of, that upon that ground they freely diſmiſſed Captaine *Bayly* with his wife, his Lieutenant and ſome others of that Nation, conveying them to the *Newry*, (a long journey, and ſo they came hither) onely taking this Oath of them: that *They ſhould but doe as the reſt of the Scotch there did*; which, howſoever the Rebels meaning was an Aſſiſtance of them, yet they there found they muſt be perjured, unleſſe (according to the practiſe of their Country men thereabouts) they killed men, women, and children. The ſame Treaty they were about with the reſt of the *Scotch* in the County of *Cavan*, which if effected accordingly, the Rebels ſhall very charitably binde them in a ſtricter obligation to cut their throates then elſe of themſelves they might be prone unto.

Many Regiments are now landed; and more ready at the water ſide; great preparations are making for a March into the field, with which none are more pleaſed then ſome of ours, who have beene thus long cooped up in this beſieged Towne; with the good newes of which thou mayeſt expect to be refreſhed daily, and before the concluſion of this Summer, there is hope of producing ſome good iſſue, out of theſe beginnings in a juſt revenge of the blood of ſo many thouſand Chriſtians, ſo cauſeleſly ſhed by theſe barbarous Rebels.

FINIS.



A 2

REMONSTRANCE

IN DEFENCE OF THE

LORDS and *COMMONS*

in Parliament, in Iuſtification

of their Defenſive warre, confirmed by foure reaſons, as being undertaken for

Religion,
The King,
The Parliament,
The Countrey.

And ayming at no other end but the honour of the KING, the good of the Common-wealth, and the peace and proſperity of the Kingdome.

But moſt eſpecially undertaken for the preſervation of the Proteſtant

RELIGION.

LONDON, Printed for *Ioſeph Thomas*, 1642.

A REMONSTRANCE Of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, in justification of their Defensive Warre.

SInce many Declarations and Remonstrances sent between the King and Parliament, have not produced that reconcilement which was heartily desired by the Commons of *England*; the Parliament is now fully resolved to take up Defensive warrs upon these foure motives, For

Religion,
The *King*,
The *Parliament*,
And the *Country*.

It being a cause so inseperable, that none can thinke that warre to be lawfully undertaken by any divine wartant, which doth not ayme only at the preservation of the Kings honour and Person, and againe were meerly grounded on the Kings Prerogative, thereby to destroy the liberty of the Subject, and bring this Monarchy into a Tyranicall government, is an intention that makes such warrs unjust, as having private ambition, not the glory of God, for the ayme and end thereof: neither is the love of our Country, and the particular estates which

men enjoy therein, a ſufficient reaſon to engage a Countrey in a civill warre; for ſo it would be a Rebellion, rather then a defenſive warre. Theſe foure therefore aforeſaid, being the common intentions of all deſignes, and we muſt all meet and concurre, neither fighting for the one, nor the other, but for all; otherwiſe the Argument, Ground, and Reaſon of ſuch a Warre, will prove erroneous and fallacious, and being a good Warre when the cauſes are united; this is when the Warre is undertaken for Gods glory, the Kings Honour, the Parliament and the Countreys preſervation. It will be an unjuſt and unlawfull Warre, when for the pleaſing of the King, and ſatisfying his demands, ſome of the ſubjects combine againſt the reſt, to exalt his deſires, having neither love, equitie, nor Religion on their ſides to aſſure their conſciences that they fight the Lords Battels as well as the Kings. And moreover, if the Countrey ſhould reſiſt the true and lawfull commands of their Soveraigne, and deſire rather to eglarge their own liberty againſt Law, rather then to preſerve them by Law, or any way to deſpiſe and contemne the power of their annointed King and Soveraigne; ſuch a War enſuing from the unbounded and unlimited humour of the Commons, is by the Law of God, and the Law of the Land, to be accounted no better then thoſe Rebellions, which were in the former Raigns of ſeverall Kings of *England*. But the Parliament have firſt endeavoured in all dutifull and loyall manner to apply themſelves unto his Majeſtie, and laboured by humble prayers, and cleare and convincing reaſons and arguments in ſeverall Petitions to ſatisfie Him in their juſt intentions and proceedings, for the ſafety of his Royall Perſon, and the peace of the Kingdome. And finding that all their endeavours and labours were fruſtrated and made vaine by his Majeſties evill Counſellours, who have not only withdrawn his much deſired preſence from them, but alſo ſo wrought upon him by their pernicious adviſe and counſell, ſo that they have made him raiſe ſummes in the North, under pretence of a defenſive Guard, thereby to exerciſe hoſtility on his loving Subjects, to make ſharp returns and bitter expreſſions againſt the Parliaments. Petitions to manifeſt an intention of deſiring the poſſeſſion of *Hull*, the command of the Fleet, and the Magazine, which being committed into the hands of Papiſts, the Parliament ſhould be expoſed to the mercy of the enemies, who would convert ſuch forces and ſuch places entruſted

to

to them unto the ruine of the Parliament, the deſtruction of the Kingdome, and the Lawes and liberties of the Subject, to indure Papiſtry, change the forme of Government of this Kingdome, and make it ſubject to the Arbitrary power of the King; that to a few evill counſellours having ſpeciall influence on his affections, might under his power and Prerogative ſqueeze the ſubjects purſes, and be all Viceroys under the Kings matters. Therefore being come to ſuch an apparent point of danger, that the Parliament cannot confide in the Kings good intentions towards them, when he oppoſes them in all things, ſuffering alſo others with ſharpe invectives to ſcandalize their perſons, while the malignant party ſtriveth by all means to overthrow and diſſolve this Parliament, and by cutting it up by the roots, to take away all other Parliaments, and conſequently the liberty of the Subjects, thereby preſerved and maintained. Upon theſe grounds and motives the whole body of the Commons, of what County or Shire ſoever, according to their proteſtations formerly taken, and many exhibited petitions unto the Houſe of Parliament, ought in duty, and by the bond and obligation of their Religion, not to ſtand ſtill and ſee the State diſtreſſed, the Parliament oppreſſed, and the King poſſeſſed by the evill Counſells of the malignant party. But on the contrary, to expoſe their lives and fortunes for the defence and maintenance of the true Religion, the Kings Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate, the rights and liberties of the Parliament, and the Subject, and the defence of their Countrey againſt all tyranny and arbitrary government.

And that the Commons may the better underſtand the cauſe and quarrel which they undertake, and from thence have their courages quickened, and their mindes animated, when they underſtand what and how great the matters are which now lie at ſtake, and are to be wonne or loſt by the ſword, ſince ſuch great controverſies are not to be tryed in any Court of Judicature: but when wrong and injuſtice and the alteration of Religion is impoſed on this Kingdome, all the Commons and Subjects, muſt every one with cheerefull willingneſſe, appeare ready to ſpend their lives *pro aris & foeis*, that is, for Religion, their King, the Parliament, and their Countrey.

And firſt for Religion.

All true hearted Subjects ought to fight to maintaine the purity and

ſubſtance thereof, that it may not be changed into the ceremonious formality of Popery, in that their conſciences may not be brought into the ſubjection of the Roman ſlavery.

That the ſunne of the Goſpel now ſhining cleer in the Scriptures, which the common people are now permitted to read, may not be darkened by the darke miſts of Popery, who deſiring to keep the Laity in ignorance, deny them to peruſe the holy Scriptures.

That they may not be ſubject to the Popes tyrannie, inforced to pay him tribute to maintaine his fat kitchin, nor have loads impoſed on them of Penance, Confeſſion, and a rable of humane traditions.

That they may not be lewdly led by the ambitious Clergy, who for profit will lead on the people till they both fall into hell, and will frame Religion to be conformable to their own luſts and deſires, and profitable to themſelves, though they ſtarve the ſoules of the people. For theſe reaſons therefore, the ſubject ſhould defend the Proteſtant Religion, ſince being true and ſincere, they are bound to maintain the true faith.

The Subjects alſo are by the duty of allegiance bound to defend and maintain the Kings Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate.

That his Perſon may not alwayes be environed by thoſe who carry him upon his own enemy, and the deſtruction of all his people.

That thoſe wicked counſellours which have thus farre engaged the Kings Honour into the pitty of the Subjects, who grieve to ſee that his good and mercifull temper ſhould be ſo wrought on, that he ſhould yeeld to appear as a defender of Delinquents and falſe Counſellours againſt his loving Subjects and loyall Parliament, in this caſe to ſet the King free and right in the opinion of his Subjects; the Subject ought, and is bound to maintaine the Kings Honour.

That the King may gaine the love and reſpect of his Subjects, for He thereby evill counſell ſeeks to deprive him of that, doth as much as in him lyeth diveſt him of his Royall Authority, ſince the love and affection of His true Subjects is a ſtronger defence unto the Kings Majeſty, then all power and Prerogative which He hath over this Kingdom; and therefore all endeavours ayming to worke a ſeperation betweene His Majeſty and His Subjects, in matter of love and mutuall correſpondence, do take away his power and glory, and ſo by conſequent his Kingdom; for what is a King without power and glory, and eſtimation amongſt

mong ſt his Subjects; and therefore ſuch as labour and ſtrive to effect this, and to loſe him the hearts of his Subjects in his owne Kingdome, are to be accounted enemies to the peace of the Kingdome; and therefore War is to be maintained againſt them as the Kings enemies.

Thus War undertaken for Gods cauſe, for Religion, and the maintenance of the true Proteſtant faith, is the reaſon why we ſhould fight for the King, who hath ſo often premiſed in his Declarations, to be the defender thereof; ſo that if Religion ſuffer as it is like to do, by inſtigation of the malignant party, drawing the King to communicate in their deſignes, and making him guilty as much as they can of their pernicious purpoſes; that ſo they may under his power and Authority protect themſelves from any condigne puniſhment. In this caſe the Parliament who are the eyes, eares, and underſtanding of the Common-wealth, are much wronged in the charge intruſted unto them by their Countreys; and therefore when this wiſe Senate and Parliament that doth thus oppoſe it ſelfe againſt the Kings affections, miſled by evill counſellours, is drawne into danger, contempt, and diſſolution; a defenſive Warre, not to reſiſt, but to withſtand the exuberance of the Kings power may be tollerated and leavied for theſe ends.

That the Parliament may not by the malignant party be deſtroyed, nor they become maſters of our Religion and liberties to make us ſlaves.

That the government of this Kingdome may not be reduced to the condition of ſome other Countries, which are not governed by Parliament, nor Lawes, but by the will of the Prince and his Favourites.

That the malignant party may be prevented of their purpoſes, who ſeeking to ruine this Parliament here, thereby combined to cut up the freedome of Parliament by the roote, and take all Parliaments away; or which is worſe matter then the inſtruments of ſlander; and ſo deprive the Subject of all freedome and liberty. Neither can the Parliament be any way diſtreſſed in their juſt proceedings; but the Country taking notice thereof, and of their apparent danger, preparations being made to ruine us all, and to compell the Traine Bands to come in and fight againſt their Country: In this caſe the Country is to be made a motive of Warre for our friends, fathers, wives, children, and poſterity are not to be neglected in whoſe defence we ought to fight for

our

our Countrey. First, that Gods true Religion may be maintained therein, and Papistry utterly expelled: And this Religion bindes us to defend the Kings Person and Honour, abused by wicked Counsellours, and all His friends and loving Subjects, and especially the Parliament, the Representative bodie of the Commons. And lastly, for the prosperity and peace of the Countrey and whole Kingdome; and upon these foure reasons defensive Armes may be taken up by the Subjects, and the Commons of *England*, to Gods glory, and the Kingdomes Honour.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that the Sheriffes of the Countie, of *Yorke* and *Lincolne*, and likewise the Lords Lievetenants of the said Counties, and in their absence, their Deputies allowed by Parliament, and the Iustices of Peace, and all others his Maiesties Officers shall suppresse all forces that shall be raised, or gathered together in those Counties, either to force the Towne of *Hull*, to stop the passages, to, and from the same; or in any other way to disturbe the peace of the Kingdome.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that this shall be printed and published forthwith.

Io. Browne Cler. Parl.

FINIS.

A 3

PARALLELL

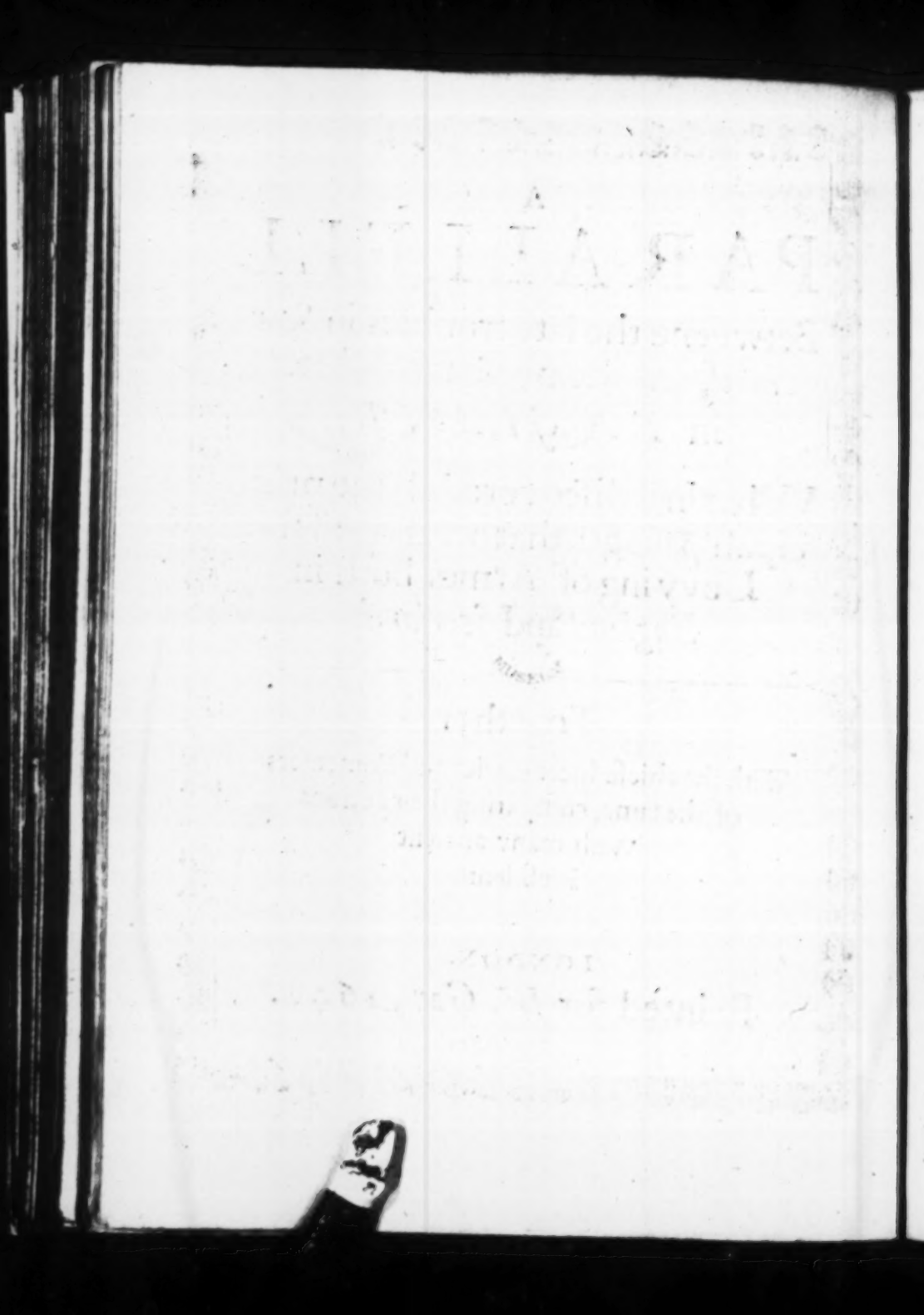
Betweene the late troubles in *Scotland*, and the preſent troubles in *ENGLAND*,

Wherin is diſcovered all the principall paſſages that occaſioned the Levying of Armes both in *England* and *Scotland*.

Together

With the chiefe Incendiaries and Fomenters of the ſame, comparing their actions with many ancient Preſidents.

LONDON,
Printed for *W. Gay*, 1642.
Auguſt 11.



A PARALLEL BETVVEENE

The late troubles in *Scotland*, and the preſent Diſtractions in *England*, compared with ſome Antiquities.

Written by a private Gentleman.

IT hath been ever held a rule or Maxime amongſt all Nations to make the defence of Religion the chiefe ground or cauſe of their Warre; ſometimes for meere politick ends and by reſpects, ſometimes to plant it where it is not, and ſometimes to regulate it where it is; Amongſt theſe the laſt ſeems moſt dangerous, becauſe it ſeldome happens, but within the Territories of one and the ſame Prince and ſo produceth the miſerable effects of Civill War. But to come to my preſent purpoſe, wherein I intend in a comparative manner briefly to diſcourſe of the late troubles that have hapned in *Scotland*, and in *England*.

And becauſe my Needle hath not beene toucht (being the firſt that hath written upon this ſubject) If I vary in the Compaſſe, or meet with a Rocke, I ſhall expect ſome favour, although I will not ſue for any ſpeciall pardon, as not worthy of it: for hee that follows himſelfe follows the worſt Maſter, that is.

The cauſe of all thoſe troubles in *Scotland*, was innovation in their Religion and violation of the ancient Lawes and Statutes of the Kingdome, as did ſufficiently appeare by their ſeverall declarations. The chiefe plotters and contrivers of thoſe diſtractions and diſtempers were Biſhops, Papiſts, and a malignant party of others, that were ill affected to the Proteſtant Religion, who had a malicious and wicked intent to inthrall and bring into bondage both the ſouls, perſons, and eſtates of three Kingdoms at once. And by making uſe of the great favour, power, and authority of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Clergy began to ſail after a Cynoſure, which was elevated to the thirty ſixt degree, and began to follow the ſteps of *Thomas Becket*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the time of *Hen.*2. who forſwore himſelfe (by denying the power of the King) to inlarge the power of the Pope, and to bring the Canon Law into this Land, In the paſſage whereof *Hen.*2. playd *Adreſtus* part, and ſtabbed himſelf.

In *England* (as in *Scotland*) our grievances are of two kinds, either ſuch as concern the innovation of our Religion, or ſuch as concern our Laws and Liberties as hath been often declared both by Petitions and Declarations. The fountain from whence theſe our evils have ſprung hath (by too much experience) been found to ariſe from the before named Incendiaries of miſchief, the Papiſts and Popiſh affected Clergy, with other of that malignant party. The Papiſts who are never wanting to uſe their utmoſt power and beſt skill to ſtir up Wars and diſſentions betweene Kingdomes joyned themſelves in their plotting and contriving with the Archbiſhop, as finding him a fit Inſtrument to work upon, being the darling of the time, as *Mountford* was in the time of *Hen.*3. the Clergy were gotten to that height that they commanded both perſons and cauſes, their authority was advanced to that Supremacy and Greatneſſe, that none might ſo much as queſtion their doings. No doubt, but theſe men now thought themſelves as great as *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did in the time of *Edw.*1. who took on him to be equall with the King, ſaying in one of his Epiſtles to the Pope that the Plough of the holy Church is drawn by two Oxen, of equall ſtrength and beauty, the King and himſelfe. Now they intended to make their Cannons and Decrees of that force, that none ſhould dare preſume to diſpute on the lawfulneſſe of them, like that lear-

learned Synod in the Reigne of *Rich.*2. when *Thomas Arundel* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, where they decreed, that none should dispute upon the Articles, determined in the Church, nor doubt of the authority of those Decrees: the offenders to the contrary should be pronounced Hereticks. Such was the misery that began to overtake us by the potent greatnesse of these aspiring spirits, that they incroached temporall Jurisdiction, and would have had the whole sway in their own hands: but as *Suidas* saith, for Priests to be temporall Judges is to knit that which will never be twisted, and for a Divine to meddle in Secular affaires is as if a bird in the Ayre should with the Mouldwarp worke in the earth.

To season this lump of matter every Kingdome hath many distinct and particular Laws or Customes after a government once setled, not before: as a batch of bread consists of many distinct loafs after the distinction which before is contained undistinguished under one lump. A man consists of many distinct members, which at the first conception was not distinct.

In the next place I will give a touch of the effects that have hapned by the plots, counsels, and endeavours of these croaking Frogs, or rather Spiders of the Common-wealth, who by issuing forth their deadly poyson, have crackt the Venice glasse of our peace and tranquillity.

When *Scotland* perceived their Religion betrayed, and their liberties inthralled, and by the power and policie of these Instruments, their Soveraignes eare stopped from their just complaints, they openly declared their grievances, and desired justice against the Infringers of their peace; whereupon their Enemies, perceiving the ends were not only likely to be frustrate, but their lives and fortunes questioned, they turned their invective counsels to advise his Majesty, that their Declarations were libellous, their Petitions, and behaviour rebellious. And so began to inforce by the terrour of an Army, that which policy could not accomplish. And like *Guido Godfrey* and others in the Reign of *Hen.*3. began to act the part of their lawlesse rage by seeking utterly to destroy all those, that withstood their malicious and wicked enterprises, and by projects, and many heavy taxes oppressing the people at home, hoping by force to overthrow and cut off one Nation at a blow, and so to dreane the purses, and poll the estates of the other, that there should be no ability to gain-say them. And although at this instant there was no present Levies of Arms against the Subject in *England*, yet the danger and successe both of an offensive or a defensive war do oftentimes prove to be of equall hazard, from which I conclude, that the designe against *England* at that time was the same, and as great if not greater, then against *Scotland*.

I will not cruſh out my notes in this behalfe in any new diviſion, and the portion I ſhall allow will not be large: therefore in this place I will come to give a touch, that when things were brought to this head, the Jeſuits and Papiſts (who are alwayes thirſty after bloud) now plot and contrive by all means the forwarding of theſe Wars as the only way to promote the Catholicke cauſe. And perceiving that the want of money was likely to prove a great hindrance to their deſigne, they began to make great proffers, they will now be deemed his Majeſties beſt Subjects. And as if the taxes under which the Proteſtants were too light a burthen, they will lay greater upon themſelves: an hired ſervant that received not above forty ſhillings *per annum*, muſt pay five ſhillings towards the promotion of this cauſe. The Biſhops and other of the Clergy who deſired to goe hand in hand with them under colour of an Ayd, grant large Subſidies in their Synod. And therein ſhewed ſuch forwardneſſe that no doubt, to advance thoſe Wars they would have imitated the Clergy in *Hen.* 2. time which (although for another purpoſe) ſold their Chalices to advance their own ends: And it is to be obſerved, that the before-mentioned perſons that were (as I have ſaid) the cheefe Agents and promoters of the Wars and difference between the two Nations *England* and *Scotland*, are the only Incendiaries and cauſers of the preſent difference betweene the King and the Parliament.

Theſe perſons when they were in the height of their glory, might juſtly have moſt cauſe to queſtion their own ſtrength; Chriſtall that fairly gliſtereth doth quickly break, and as the aſcent of uſurped Royalty is ſlippery, ſo the top is ſhaking and the fall great.

A Parliament was now called in *Scotland*, and likewiſe another in *England*, his Majeſty being gratiouſly pleaſed to make ſweetneſſe and clemency the entrance to ſettle theſe diſtempered States, and (though it be a matter much queſtioned by thoſe that obſerve the ſucceſſe and event of things, whether his Majeſty did it by compulſion and politick counſell rather then out of affection to his Subjects, or deſire and intent to ſettle the diſtempers of both Kingdoms) he begins firſt with *Scotland*, heares their Petitions, grants their deſires, and ſettles all their grievances.

Here the current began to run ſmooth and cleere, now all rough waves ſeem to be gone and paſt, the Sun ſhines bright and cleere and the ſtrength of our hopes gave us almoſt full aſſurance of the like happy ſucceſſe.

His Majeſty haſtens his return from *Scotland*, declares his hearty deſire to effect the like work in *England*, he is received with exceeding great acclama-

clamations of joy; ſome aſſurance is now given to our thirſty hopes; the Parliament begins to move in its proper Orbe. But here (me thinks) my diſcourſe wants one of the three dimenſions. It is long and broad enough, yet it wants depth to ſhew the occaſion or reaſon of this ſudden change.

Great things we know are ſeldom effected without much difficultie (eſpecially when they meet with ſtrong oppoſition.) The maligrant faction begin againe to muſter their forces, they perceive that if the Parliament ſhould be ſuffered to goe on proſperouſly, their preſent plots and enterpriſes would not only be made fruſtrate and void, but the knot ſo broken and their wings ſo clipt, that they ſhould never be able to put in practice any more notorious Acts ſutable to their deſires.

The Devill in acting of his plots never wants Inſtruments.

Now they renew the former pernicious-counſels, and conſider that their ends will not ſtand in competition with a Parliament, and therefore endevour to overthrow not only ſome members of both Houſes, but alſo the very eſſence and being thereof, ſo that herein will appeare the diſparity of the ſubject of my diſcourſe, that the Parliament in *Scotland*, did finiſh that in three moneths that the Parliament in *England* hath laboured after above twelve moneths, and yet cannot accompliſh.

Here (me thinks) this Skeen in my hand is ſo twiſted by reaſon of the enſuing lines of my diſcourſe, that I cannot without entangling winde it upon a proper bottome. The Parliament in *England* (which hath always been held the ſovereigne cure to heal the diſtempers of the Kingdome and the ſafeſt and moſt faithfull Counſell of the Kings of this Land; without whoſe adviſe in the moſt flouriſhing times of this Kingdome, the Kings thereof would not undertake any great deſigne: which was the reaſon that *Ed.*3. being animated to go with the King of *France*, to the holy Wars refuſed to goe without the conſent of his Parliament, and cauſed a Parliament to be called for that very purpoſe. But through the unheard of oppoſition that hath beene from time to time made againſt the Parliament, and their proceedings, either by increaſe and multiplicity of buſineſſe, or new plots and devices continually framed and contrived by the malignant party, which have often endevoured the ruine and deſtruction of the whole Kingdome, that during all this ſpace of time (without moſt eminent danger to the whole State) they have had no leiſure to render to offenders the juſt reward of their merits, no means (his Majeſty being ſeduced by wic-

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ked Counsell) to redresse all our grievances having sufficient labour and toyle with all their might to underprop, and uphold the tottering fabrick of this distempered Kingdom, so that although there appeare some disparity between the happinesse of the successe of the Parliament in *England* and *Scotland*, yet herein (me thinks) my notes have the vertue of a Lookingglasse to shew and represent that which is before, as wel as that which is behind. In this behalf this short discourse being fully lookt upon as in a glasse, may shew the apparity of the the cause as it stood lately betwixt the two Nations *England* and *Scotland*. and as it now stands betweene his Majesty and the Parliament, the causes and the Agents being still the same the Papists and Popish affected Clergy still joyning together, and doe at this present proffer great summes of money, and other assistance for the advancing of Civill Wars in *England*. And although this that I have said be sufficient for my present purpose, yet (mee thinks) I heare *Tilbury* speak. It cannot fall within the compasse of mans knowledge to utter the malicious intents and purposes of these persons. And as *Pliny* sheweth that all *Homers Iliads* were written in a Nutshell, the whole matter of my discourse, it may be you shall judge it all shell and no kernell, but my metall is moulten, and my bellows by often blowing have let out all their breath.

FINIS.

4

THE RESOLUTION OF Prince Charles,

Being Generall of His MAIESTIES Forces in the North.

Who intendeth to ſhew His Heroick Spirit and Filiall Duty for the preſervation of His Royall Father, and the encouragement of all Loyall Subjects of the Kingdome of *England*.

Ordered that this be printed and publiſhed,
Hen. Elſing, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Auguſt 11. Printed for *H. W.* and *H. T.* 1642.

RESOLUTION

IT is an approved ancient truth that all good Subjects ſhould ſpeke nothing of Kings and Princes, but that which is honourable, and ſutable to their great power and Authoritie, wherein they beare the impreſſe and image of God himſelfe, all language derogating from the Omnipotencie of God is blaſphemy, which ſignifies a hurting of His Honour and Glory, whereof he is jealous, and will not have it communicated to his creatures, but ſolely attributed to his Majeſty; what therefore can more exaſperate a King then that a multitude of men, and thoſe of the common ſort, who behold nothing with any cleere judgement, ſhould blaſt the Kings repu-

reputation with foule aſperſions, weakneſſe in being ſeduced by evill counſellors, and beſides caſting all their affections, on ſome who under pretence of religion would not be obliged to ſhew any obedience to any temporall power, but would diſſolue Monarchicall govevrnment into a looſe freedome of Chriſtian liberty. If they know not through blindneſſe of abſurd opinions to ſpeake well of Kings, let them conſider that they are Gods Vicegerents, the Fathers of their Country, laying open their hearts to their Subjects, as a Father doth to his Sonne; and thus our gracious Soveraigne King *Charles* hath by Meſſages and declarations with much grief of minde ſhewed his intentions, adviſed them to deſiſt from contrary courſes, to his will and pleaſure, thereby to leſſen him and diminiſh His royall Authority, derived unto him by a long ſucceſſion of Anceſtors; but above all he is to be accounted the Father of His Countrey and Kingdome, foraſmuch as he hath by Gods providence made this King-

dome

dome happy in his Royall posterity; that so the Scepter from age to age may be still continued in his generation amongst the rest by promogeniture and birth-right the Prince hath the first place, as being by indubitable inheritance the legitimate and lawfull Heire to the Crowne, and though he be now in his greene and unmellowed yeeres, yet being of an excellent ingenious disposition, and his naturall gifts improved by a tender and carefull education, he appeares by his ripenesse and forwardnesse in vertue and knowledge, to be a Prince appointed to make this Kingdome happy, famous, and illustrious, through the splendour of his vertues, which shall hereafter shine forth in action; for as *Alexander* the Great being under the command of Tutors, was of such a wise and pregnant nature, and endued with such excellent and exquisite gifts and qualities farre transcending his yeares, hee still going on in his Resolution, not fearing his Enemies, and so consquently is allyed (as is due)

unto

into His Majeſties vertues aſwell as His Kingdome, hath for His greater Honour and to enter him into the Schoole of warre as a young Souldier, is by the Kings Majeſtie, His Father, made Generall of all the Kings Forces in the North, and with a right Princely minde he is willing to doe His Father any ſervice, and in this pious, dutifull, and Noble courſe he is reſolved to proceed, not doubting but that His filiall love to the Kings Majeſty will be exceeding well taken, and be very well pleaſing to all thoſe loyall Subjects that doe pray for the proſperity and happy Raigne of our Gracious Soveraigne King *Charles*. For what Son of any true Generous Blood would with tame Patience behold his father ingag'd in a private quarrell, while he ſtanding by would not doe his beſt to helpe him; And hee being ſorry that the Proteſtant Religion, wherein He hath bin brought up and educated, ſhould be thus divided and rent in pieces by the Sectarists in a tumultuous manner raving and

raging

raging in this Kingdome, who make it a Principle of their prophane rebellious opinions, that they ought not, nor are bound by conſcience *jure divino*, to be ſubject to any temporall Power, nor to the King himſelfe; wherefore our Noble Prince knowing that his Royall Father is acknowledged by juſt and Lawfull ſucceſſion to bee our true Soveraigne Lord and King, *And Defender of the Faith* within his Dominions, he is reſolved to be Generall of His Fathers Army, that ſo the Souldiers being encouraged by his daily preſence and converſing amongſt them, may with their lives and utmoſt ebilities endeavour to defend the true Proteſtant Religion. Neither doth Hee appprehend the Parliament but as Friends and loyall Subjects to his Royall Father, knowing that by time all deſcent and by the generall conſent of Parliament he muſt be firſt enſtalled Prince of *Wales*, and afterward when his Father ſhall after his long and happy Raigne leave him his Crowne and Diademe unto him, it muſt

be

be confirm'd on him by his inauguration in Parliament, and therefore the goodneſs of his naturall diſpoſition, he wiſhes there might be ſuch a complying and agreeing between His Majeſty and Parliament, that he needed not encline to any ſide, but ſure it is Heavens pleaſure, that the ſeedes of diſſention ſhould by the ſubtilty of ſome and the malignity of others be ſowed between them, ſpringing up into a contentious brood of armed men, and the Civill Warres threatens the ruine and deſtruction and deſtruction of this Kingdome, the Prince being admoniſhed of the preſent ſtate of matters, is reſolved to ſpend His yovnger yeares in the defence of His royall Father, knowing that by nature he is engaged to maintain and defend him to the utmoſt of his ability, as being the defender of the Proteſtant religion.

Ordered that this be printed and publiſhed,
Hen. Elſing, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

T

To the

Family o

thrice

Being like

Clergies

Written

revive

Tom NASH his Ghost.

To the three scurvy Fellowes of the upstart Family of the Snufflers, Ruffiers and Shuffiers; the thrice Treble-troublesome Scufflers in the *Church* and *State*, the onely Lay *Eccleſi-Aſs*, *I call* *GENERALLISSIMO'S.*

Being like *Jobs* 3. *Comforters*, or the *Churches* 3. *Anti-Diſciples*, the *Clergies* 3. *Perſecuters*, the *States* 3. *Horſ-leeches*, the *Divels* 3. *Chaplaines*; namely, the *Anabaptiſt*, the *Libertine*, and the *Browniſt*.

Written by *Thomas Naſh* his *Ghoſt*, with *Pap with a Hatchet*, a little revived ſince the 30. Yeare of the late *Qu. Elizabeths* Reigne, when *Martin Mar-Prelate* was as mad as any of his *Tub-men* are now.

Printed firſt at *Yorke*, and ſince re-printed at *London*. 1642

Tom NASH his Ghost.

I *Am a* Ghost, *and* Ghosts *doe feare no Lawes;*
I *Nor doe they care for popular Applause:*
I liv'd a Poet *poore, long time agoe;*
And (living a poore Poet*) I dy'd so.*
The thirtieth yeare of blest Eliza's *Reigne*
I had a yerking, jirking, jerking veine;
In those dayes, we had desperate madmen heere,
Who did the Queene, State, Church and Kingdome jeere;
And now a Crew are up as wise as those
Who doe all Rule and Goverment oppose.
In those dayes I did bring those men in frame;
And now my Ghost *is come to doe the same.*
Their Leaders were cal'd Martins; *but I call*
These fellowes Swallowes, they would swallow all.
I *then did gall their* Galls, *and spight their spight,*
I *made the Nests of* Martins *take their flight;*
But first they had disperst their fond opinions,
In sundry places of the Queenes Dominions,
which (like Impostumes*) not well cur'd at first,*
Corrupted ever since, doth now out-burst.
Wherfore my ayery Ghost *shall undertake*
Once more to try a perfect Cure to make;
For (being now invisible, a Spirit)
I *cut through th' Ayre, and in the Earth can ferrit,*
And in an Augure hole my selfe can hide,
And heare their knaveries and spie unspide.
My Lines are sharp, but charitie's my ground,
My ayme is to conforme not to confound,
But if my labour prove to be in vaine,
My Ghost *shall (whence it came) returne againe.*

TOM

TOM NASH HIS GHOST.

APPEARING

To the Anabaptist, the Libertine, and the BROWNIST.

IT were a troubleſome and tedious Buſines for a generall Counſell (with the help of all the *Vniverſities*) to give theſe whom I write to, correſpondent *Epithetes*, *Names*, *Titles*, and *Tittle-tattles* that may be ſutable to their Educations and continuall practiſe; for as when *Monopolies* and *Projects* did oppreſſe and moleſt this Kingdome like ſwarmes of Caterpillers; in which vniuſt deſignes too many crafty companions did abuſe the Kings name, in playing the Knaves, to the mighty and intollerable generall iniury of his *Majeſtie*, and all his Subiects; ſo theſe Locuſts are crawl'd out of the bottomleſſe Pit, and vnder the bleſſed name of God they doe play the Divels incarnate.

It is to be wondred at, what wondrous paines they take to doe wickedly; how their unholy and crooked imaginations have pumped into their impious fancies the falſe conceptions of ſome vertuous matter; then are they in extreame paine and travell till they are delivered from the abortive Iſſue of their addle Brains: for which (although they have no acceptance from God, nor thanks from good men (but rather hatred from all) yet out their ſtinking ſtuffe muſt, or the muſty Verſe muſt breake or crack all the hoopes, or the Divell perhaps may want his due if authority be not reviled againſt, and a long ſciſmaticall Oration hyppocratically ſtretcht out to the Rabble of their diſobedient and unlick'd Auditors, who out of their deepe ignorance, doe extoll the vapourous matter, with a wine-drawne ſpeech and lowting courteſie, bleſſe them for that dayes exerciſe, in inveighing ſo vehemently and bitterly againſt all Rule and Government, in Church and State; when indeed his admired mouth, better deſerved the help of Doctor Executioner, that hee might wipe it with a hempen wiſpe.

Their Tongues have been the Wedges their Heads the Beetles, and their Pens the Axes that have ſplit, rent and cloven all our bleſſed peace, content and happineſſe which we lately inioyed: their Books have beene ſhot (like Bolts) whereby this Kingdomes diſgrace is not only overſpread over it ſelfe; but alſo our diſhonour is ſcattered over the face of all Chriſtendome; and though they be ſo ignorant that they cannot diſpute with a Sexton; yet they will take upon them to diſplace Biſhops and learned Divines, and place in their roomes Weavers and Wyer-drawers.

But the wiſedomes of theſe Martiniſts, will anſwer, that Biſhops have beene erronious, negligent proud, contentious, coveteous, uncharitable, ambitious, &c. all which is granted, but

but it is not granted that all Bishops have been so (nor at least) so bad as these fellowes would make them) as men are men; so men are subiect to error and failings: if some great men in high and eminent places have done amisse, doth it stand with your witlesse reasons quite to overthrow and cast downe their high Callings, Functions and necessary Offices: some Iudges perhaps have done corruptly; *ergo*, wee will have no more Iudges: you may better argue, that many Separatists are malicious or ignorant Knaves, and therefore wee would have no more Separatists. This were to be as wise, as he that pul'd downe his house, because there was one old rotten post in it, or that all your Tribe should have no easier cure for the Tooth-ach, but by knocking out your braines: No, no, my friends (a farre off) there is no doubt but if the State were settled, (which by your Sectaries have too much disturb'd) there are (under God) Parliamentall Chyrurgions and Physitians that with his Royall Maiesties most humble, hearty, loyall and all desired assistance and protection, would soone recover this almost gangrean'd Church and Common-weale to its former health, and most renowned reputation and dignitie.

I would wish these shuttle-heads that desire to rake in the embers of Rebellion, to give over blowing the Coales too much, lest the sparkes flee in their faces, or the ashes choake them: some of them have made such hot worke already with tutoring their Tutors, that their owne lips are burnt: It is well known that their magnified Teachers have three severall times in the presence of God taken their Oaths, wherein they have vowed all Canonicall obedience, and they ought to observe the said oathes, till such time as the wisedome of that power and authority which ordained these oathes doe alter or abrogate the same as occasions may require. But though they

ſeemed conſtantly to ſweare obedience to thoſe venerable Edicts of the Church; yet it is found that their humble ſubmiſſion was but diſſembling intruſion; and now they are poſſeſt of their Pulpits, they take great care that no learned conformable Preacher ſhall come there at any time, for feare that if truth come once to light, then their Cake will bee dough, and they being once diſcovered to their Auditors (eſpecially their good Dames) may happen to want their pudding, Bacon, with other good cheere, beſides ſome other courteſies at Conveticles,

Thus, when theſe extraordinary qualified *Theologues* are mounted in their Thrones, a Popiſh Prieſt can hardly outdoe him in ſtrange poſtures, as in lifting up the pureneſſe of the whiteſt whiteneſſe of his eyes; then marke how hee diſplayes his armes as if he were ſwimming; alſo the terrible aſſault and battery that the poore cuſhion endures, the haukings, hemmings, hummings, coughings, ſpittings (with other Parentheſis while there is more matter a pumping) beſides the terble thundring voyce againſt our Church-Lyturgie, although they doe know that they lye, and that that Booke was approved of by the learned *Calvin* and all the reverend Fathers of the bleſſed Reformation in King *Edwards* Reigne. That five martyr'd Biſhops, (namely, Arch-biſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Ridley*, Biſhop *Latimer*, Biſhop *Hooper*, Biſhop *Farrar*, with many more godly men and glorious Martyrs, (whom the Papiſts moſt cruelly burnt and perſecuted; yet they all at their very deaths did acknowledge our Church-Liturgie, or Common-prayer Booke, and ſealed their faiths with their bloods, by the Papiſts Tyranny; and is it poſſible that any ſhould be ſo ſhameleſſe as to ſay that Booke is Popiſh now

The ſaid Booke was ſuppreſt in *Q. Maries* Reigne becauſe it was not Popiſh: The ſaid Booke was not Popiſh in all the happy

happy Reigne of *Q. Elizabeth*, nor was it esteemed either Popish or Romish in all the Reigne of King *James*: in both the times of these three mighty Princes (of ever-blessed memory) and till within these three or foure yeares, there hath scarcely beene heard of any learned or Religious minded Protestant that did ever hold that Booke to be stuft with *Romish Rags* of *Popery*, although some things in it may be amended, and somethings quite omitted.

But you have such nice stomacks that nothing will downe with you except it be sawc'd with disobedience and contention; you being such odd fellowes whom Learning, Witt, sence or Reason can by no meanes satisfie. Whips are for slaves and not swords, and it is fit that such as wisedome cannot satisfie, should have their mouths bung'd up with iceres, will nothing agree with your apperites, or relish well in your pallates, but the bald-rib of a Bishop, or the iole of a Iudge? truely I hold it better that some of you were taken away with *Gregories* Voyder; the Reason is, there are Caps with foure corners, and those you distast; there are creatures to bee met in one corner, hold there; and there is a Tree neere *Paddington* with three corners; but no more of that (I pray) though it is necessary that some of you should escape no worse.

I am so cleare-sighted that I can see through the very veines and sinnewes of your Consciences; for your Religions you may (many of you) cast Crosse and Pile, and for your iust dealing you may play at my Sow ha's Pigg'd. Therefore it is wholsome for the times that such Cocks as you should be let blood in the Combe.

It is a marvell that most of your perverse Sects have not wry mouthes, for very few of you do speak right at any time; but out of the concupiscence of your Consciences, and the Learning you are indued withall in Crooked-Lane Lattin, hath

hath got you with child with *Rebellion*; and being with child you long to ſwallow *Churches*, and devoure *Authority*, but you will be told one time or other that there is ſome odds betwixt *Learning* and *Libelling*.

I know ſome that will doe their ill-good will to outlaw my Soule for writing this, and they will ſerve an execution of damnation upon me, but if I be aware of their comming I will meete them with ſuch a powder that ſhall make their bones to rattle in their Skins like 3. blew beanes in a blew bladder rattle bladder rattle.

And for a concluſion, It is as lawfull, for honneſt men by either ſpeaking or writing to make the malicious Facts and Acts of Knaves knowne, as it is for Knaves to ſlaunder and abuſe honeſt men; and moſt certaine it is that the Leaders of theſe Factions doe know they are out of the way, and would be glad to returne againe (were it not for ſome worldly reſpect) for which cauſes they muſt impudently goe on, according to the old Proverb, over-ſhooes, over Bootes.

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A True Relation of the Barbarous Crueltie of divers of the bloudy Caveleers, as in all parts; so more especially and principally, now in the County of *Northampton* where they fight kill and slay, and commit other horrible execrable and detestable insolencies and outrages, as may be seene by the examinations of diverse Persons taken.

BEFORE,

Laurence Ball, Major *of Northampton*, Sir *Richard Samuell*, *Clifton Catesby*.

Sent up to the *Parliament*, and by them commanded to bee Printed.

Iohn Browne Cler. Parl.

August 11

London printed for *Ioseph Hunscot*. 1642.

A True Relation of

the Barbarous Cruelties of divers of the bloody Cavaliers, as [illegible] so more especially and principally, [illegible] the County of [illegible] [illegible] execrable and detestable violencies and outrages, as may be seen, the examination of divers Parl. stated.

BEFORE,

Laurence Ball, Major of *Northampton*, Sir *Richard Samuell*, *Clifton Cotsby*.

Sent up to the *Parliament*, and by them commanded to bee Printed.

Iohn Browne Cler. Parl.

Augus[illegible]

London printed for *Ioseph Hunscot*. 1642.

The information of George Watſon of Killesby Husbandman, taken at Northampton, the ninth day of Auguſt 1642. before Laurence Ball, Major of the ſaid Towne, Sir Richard Samwell Knight, and Cliſton Catesby Eſquire, Deputy Lievtenant for the ſaid Countie.

THis Informant ſaith, that on Tueſday morning, the ninth of this inſtant Auguſt, before Sun riſe, about foure ſcore troopers armed with Carbines and Piſtols, came to Killeſley with a Trumpet before them, and beſet the houſe of *Iohn Hollis* the elder, but cannot tell what they ſaid to them in the houſe, being farre diſtant from them, at which time and place this informant upon hearing the Trumpet, came and found one *Thomas Winckles* there ſhot dead in the breſt, and this Informant enquiring of one *Obadiah Marriot* who was preſent, and how it came to paſſe, hee ſaid that he heard the ſaid *Winckles* ſay; that he was

for the King and the Parliament, and thereupon he was ſhot, and the ſaid *Marriot* ſaying that they had ſlaine a faithfull Snbject of the Kings, one of the ſaid Troopers ſtrooke him three or foure times with a Sword, and thereupon he fled, and this informant ſaith, that he was alſo ſhot at: and alſo *Moſes Hawlat*, who ſaid only he was for the King; and *Thomas Clarke*, and *Zephaniah Crike*, and divers others were ſhot at and wounded thereby, and *Iohn White* was there dangerouſly wounded by one of the Troopers with a Pitchforke which was taken from one of the neighbours, and one *Henry Barfoote* was alſo killed, but this Informant was not preſent when he was ſlain.

Laurence Ball, Major.
Richard Samwell.
Cliſcon Catesby.

The Information of Iohn Hollis, Iunior of Kelleſby Huſbanman taken at Northapton the ninth day of Auguſt, 1642, before Laurence Ball Major of the ſaid Towne. Sir Richard Samwell Knight, and Clifton Eſquire deputy Lieutenant of the ſaid County.

This Informant ſaith, that hee being preſent at the Information of the ſaid G. Whatſon; knoweth the ſame in all particulars to be true, And further ſaith that he was told by William Bowkley, and Iohn Welch, that they were taken by the ſaid Troopers and foure ſwords and Bandileeres and a reſt was taken from them by the ſaid Troopers, But this Informant and foure or five there with him conceiving themſelves to weake for them, did hide their guns and fled away for their ſafety, and afterwards the Troopers enquired where the Rogues were that had the armes, And thereupon this Informant and the reſt withdrew themſelves and durſt not further appeare againſt them, And this Informant ſaith that William Bowkley told him that the ſaid Troopers Cocked Piſtols at

his Breſt and drew their ſwords and ſwore they would kill him if he did not tell them where the armes of the Towne were:

Laurence Ball, Major.
Richard Samwell.
Clifton Catesby.

The Information of Thomas Hall of *Kellesby* Husbandman taken as aforesaid.

WHo so saith he did see *Thomas Winckles*, and *Henry Barfoote*, lye dead in *Killesby*, who was slaine by the said Troopes, and onely heard the said Troopers say *Rancke, Rancke*, but durst not depart out of his House, but he hid two pieces, and a Musquet which he had there.

Laurence Ball Major.

Richard Samwell.

Glifton Catesby.

THe information of *Peter Meades* of *Killesby* Husbandman, taken as aforesaid who saith that hee did see about 80. Troopers came into *Killesby* before the Sunne rising this present day, and one of the said Troopers held a Horsemans Pistall against this informant and one of his fellowes said unto him, shoot it off without further words, whereupon this informant desired them to hold their hands and fled from them, and going downe the Towne three Troopers more met this Informant, and charged him to stand, and drew their Swords, and charged him to tell them where any Arms were, and this Informant telling them hee could not tell; Two or three of them strooke at this Informant with their Swords, and immediately two or three

three more came to them, and said, what doe you doe with that Rogue, Come, Come, wee will fire the Towne and this Informant leaped over a hedge and scaped from them.

Laurence Ball Major.
Richard Samuell.
Clifton Catesby.

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A TRVE RELATION

Of the ſeverall paſſages and proceedings of Colonell *Goring* at *Portſmouth*, and how he is revolted from the Parliament, who impoſed that truſt in him, and keepes it for the King.

How he hath ſhut the Gates, and hath gotten a Garriſon of above five hundred men with great ſtore of money and Ammunition beſide.

Alſo how the Parliament hath given Order to his excelency the E. of *Eſſex* to rayſe Forces to demand *Portſmouth* and the Caſtle, and to apprehend Colonell *Goring* as guilty of high Treaſon.

With other ſeverall matters of Note concerning *Portſmouth*, *and the Ile of* Wight.

Whereunto eſpecially is added a catalogue of the names of the Lords, that ſubſcribed to levy Horſe to aſſiſt His Majeſty in defence of his royall Perſon, the two Houſes of Parliament, and the Proteſtant Religion, with the monies men and Horſe, already ſubſcribed unto by ſeverall Counties of this Kingdom, and undertaken for His Majeſties ſervice, *Auguſt.* 6th. 1642.

LONDON,
Printed by *E. G.* for *Iohn Benſon.*

A TRVE
Relation of the ſeverall paſſages, and proceedings of Colonell *Goring* at PORTSMOUTH.

UPon Thurſday laſt being the fourth of *Auguſt*, the Parliament received Letters from *Portſmouth*, that Colonell *Goring* hath betrayed the truſt repoſed in him by the Parliament, and keepes *Portſmouth* now for his Majeſty, and that one of his Captaines went about the Country and inticed divers men to goe along with him to *Portſmouth*, to doe an acceptable ſervice, promiſing great reward; but when they came there Colonel *Goring* tendred them a ſtrict Oath to doe ſervice for the King, and ſuch as refuſed to take it were turned back again, and he hath put the Towne in a poſture of defence, and ſhut the Gates, and given command to the Garriſon for keeping of the Towne for his Majeſty, and he hath got above a 500. of Papiſts and other that are ill affected to the Parliament into the Towne to aſſiſt him, and that on Friday laſt there were carrying to the Town 100 Carbines, Saddles, Piſtols, and other Amunition, but the Parliament ſent after to have them ſtayd, and that he hath kept 3000 l. which he received from the Parliament to pay the arriers of the Garriſon, and he re-

fuſes to give any money to thoſe that will not take the Oath, and that he hath received 9000 l. by the Earle of *Portlands* brother Maſter *Weſton*, which Earle of *Portland* is committed into the cuſtody of the Sheriſe of London, for feare he ſhould comply with Colonell *Goring*, and command the Ile of *Wight*, but the Parliament hath given Order to the Earle of *Warwicke*, to bring ſome ſhips thither to ly before it, with command for the ſafe guarding of the Sea against foraine invaſion, and hath given order that the Earle of *Eſſex* ſhall forthwith appoint Officers to levy Horſe and Foote in thoſe places, and forthwith to march with them before *Portſmouth*, to kill, and ſlay all that oppoſe their paſſage, and to demand *Portſmouth*, and the Caſtle to be delivered up to them, and to demand Colonell *Goring*, and to apprehend him as guilty of high Treaſon, and if he be denied to lay ſiedge against the Town, and ſuppreſſe all that ſhall oppoſe them, and require aide of the next adjacent Countrys, and the Ile of *Wight* if occaſion require; the Biſhop of *Winchester* hath ſent 5 Horſe compleatly arm'ed to *Portſmouth*, Sr. *Kenelme Digby* was ſuſpected to have plotted, and confederated with Colonell *Goring* in betraying *Portſmouth*, and ſhould have gon thither very ſudenly, wherefore hee was by order by the Houſe of Commons cōmitted to a Sergant at Armes. Alſo the Parliament hath appointed the Earle of *Pembrook* to be Governer of the Ile of *Wight* in the roome of the Earle of *Portland*.

Whereas

WHereas it may be collected by ſeverall Declarations printed in the name of both Houſes of Parliament; That the Kings ſacred Perſon, the Houſes of Parliament, the Proteſtant Religion, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject, and priviledges of Parliament are all in danger.

We whoſe names are under-written, doe voluntarily offer, and ſeverally ingage our ſelves, according to the following Subſcriptions, to aſſiſt His Majeſty in defence of His Royall Perſon, the two Houſes of Parliament, the Proteſtant Religion, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject, and Priviledges of Parliament; when His Majeſty ſhall have given Commiſſion under the Great Seale, for levying of Forces for thoſe purpoſes, againſt all power, Levies and Forces whatſoever, or to be raiſed upon any pretence whatſoever.

To pay Horſes for three moneths, thirty daies to the moneth, at two ſhilling ſix pence *per diem*, ſtill advancing a moneths pay, the firſt payment to begin ſo ſoon as the King ſhall call for it, after the Commiſſions ſhall be iſſued under the Great Seal. In this Number are not to be reckoned the horſes of the Subſcribers, or thoſe that ſhall attend them.

Subſcribed

Subscribed by

	Horse.
The Prince	200
The Duke of *York*,	120
Lord *Keeper*,	40
L. D. of *Richmond*,	100
L. M. Hertford,	60
Earle of *Lindsey*,	30
E. of *Cumberland*,	50
E. of *Huntingdon*,	20
E. of *Bath*,	50
E. of *Southampton*,	60
E. of *Dorset*,	60
E. of *Salisbury*,	40
E. of *Northampton*,	40
E. of *Devonshire*,	60
E. of *Cambridge*,	60
E. of *Bristoll*,	60
E. of *Westmerland*,	20
E. of *Barkeshire*, and *L. Andover*,	30
E. of *Monmouth*,	30
E. of *Rivers*,	30
E. of *Newcastle*,	50
E. of *Dover*,	25
E. of *Carnarvan*,	20
E. of *Newport*,	50
L. Mowbray and *Matravers*,	50
L. Willoughby of *Eresby*,	30
L. Rich,	30
C. Ch. Howard of *Charlton*,	30
L. Newarke,	30
L. Paget,	30
L. Chandos,	25
L. Thanet,	100
L. Fauconbridge, to come	
L. Paulet,	40
L. Lovelace,	40
L. Savile,	50
L. Coventry,	100
L. Mohun,	20
L. Dunsmore,	40
L. Seymour,	20
L. Grey of *Ruthin*,	10
L. Capell,	100
L. Falkland,	20
M. Comptroller,	20
M. Secretary Nicolas,	20
M. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*,	20
L. Chief Justice Banks,	20

York-

Yorkeſhire doth raiſe, arme, and pay for three moneths 500

Leiceſterſhire, levies, armes, and payes 400

Lincolnſhire, payes, armes, and Levies foure Troops or 300

Divers Gentlemen of the Commons Houſe of Parliament have voluntarily ſubſcribed to pay three moneths 464

Natinghamſhire, levies, armes, and pays three moneths 200

Herefordſhire, raiſes, armes, and payes ſix moneths, 100

The Kings Domeſtick ſervants pay for three months 169

The totall of the Horſe 4284

Sir *Bevill Grimfield* undertakes for *Cornwall* 500

The Biſhopprick of *Durham* hath ſubſcribed to contribute in money 3000 pounds hoping to make it up ſix thouſand, 6000

Newcaſtle are ſubſcribing alſo with great chearfulnes.

Herefordſhire hath ſent in money 3000 *l.*

Flintſhire, *Glamorganſhire*, and the whole Principality of *Wales* hath likewiſe ſubſcribed for great quantities of Horſe and money.

Kent hath ſubſcribed for 1000 *l.*

The Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, have already ſent His Majeſty a voluntary ſumme of 16000 *l.*

Theſe were ſubſcribed unto by the Gentry of the ſaid ſeverall counties, who was ſummoned by His Maieſty to meet at Yorke *on* Thurſday *laſt, where the King and the Lords ſat in the* Chapterhouſe, *and the Gentry in the* Deanery, *being* Anguſt 4. 1642.

The

The Promiſe of the ſaid Lords and others.

WE doe engage our ſelves, Not to obey any Orders or commands whatſoever, not warranted by the knowne Laws of the Land.

We doe engage our ſelves to defend Your Majeſties Perſon, Crown and Dignity, together with Your Majeſties juſt and legal Prerogative, againſt all perſons and power whatſoever.

We will defend the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, the lawfull liberties of the Subject of England, and juſt priviledges of Your Majeſty, and both Your Houſes of Parliament.

And laſtly, we engage our ſelves, not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatſoever concerning any Militia, *that hath not the Royall Aſſent.*

FINIS.

8.

THE Earle of Portlands CHARGE,

Delivered to the Lords Houſe by *M. Pym.*

ALSO

A NEW PLOT DISCOVERED.

Being the Relation of the Earle of *Northamptons* ſurprizing the Magazine at *Banbury* by the forging of a falſe Letter.

Alſo the taking of Warwick *Caſtle by the ſaid Earle, and his carrying of the Magazine to the ſaid Caſtle.*

With certaine Propoſitions propounded by the Earle of *Northampton* to the Lord *Brooke* at their meeting, and the Lord *Brooke* his iudicious and religious anſwer thereunto.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parl.

Auguſt 11. Printed for John Jones. 1642.

A NEW PLOT DISCOVERED.

TOGETHER WITH THE CHARGE of the Earle of Portland.

WE are not yet safe, but every day and houre doth beget new dangers, and doth strike the fearfull and trembling subiect with new horrour and amazement. The bleeding heart of this kingdom doth daily receive new wounds: and time, which we hoped would put a finall period to all her distractions, doth either continue the old, or els beget new, to the danger of the generall subversion of the whole kingdome. Peace is exiled our habitations, and we

can receive from abroad no other ſounds, but ſuch as bring unto us affrightment, and not ſatisfaction or content. Neither can we expect any reſpit or releaſe from theſe unſavourie troubles, untill the power and edge of the malignant party be taken off, whoſe deſtructive counſels nnd actions onely tend to the diſquiet and trouble both of the Church and Common-wealth. Miſery muſt needs be the portion of that kingdome, wherein vertue, goodneſſe and religion are not onely not encouraged, and countenanced; but neglected, ſcorned, and trampled down.

The laborious and pious cares and counſels of this Parliament have from their very beginning found ſlender and undeſerved welcome with a great many, and their aimes and endeavours tending onely to the reformarion of ſuch abuſes as have diſturbed the unity and peace both of Church and Common-wealth, have beene oppoſed by malice and diſcontent. The reaſon of this diſcontent and oppoſition is decided and out of controverſie. The Actors know their own guilt, and know they cannot be ſecure, but by the abetting and proſecuting theſe publike troubles.

My Lord *Brooke* ſome time after his return to *London*, being appointed Lieutenant of *Warwick-ſhire*, and ſo by conſequence had the truſt and charge of the *Militia* committed to him,

him, in the execution and performance, according to the appointment of the Houſe of Parliament, by whoſe power and authority he was thought worthy of that truſt, and had it conferred upon him; in the execution, I ſay, of that truſt he ſpent his faithfull and reſpective ſervice. His oppoſition was much and dangerous: for when he began to put the Ordinance of Parliament in execution, and to exerciſe the *Militia* in the County of *Warwick*, the Earle of *Northampton* and the Lord *Dunſmore*, who had a Commiſſion from His Maieſty to put the Commiſsion of Array in execution, oppoſed him, not with meane and ordinary ſtrength and power, but had ſo well armed themſelves, as they thought their deſigne and intentions did deſerve or deſire. For they had gathered together into one entire body for that preſent ſervice and execution, many hundreds of men out of ſeverall Shires and Counties, whom not onely by faire and alluring ſpeeches, but alſo with an extraordinary ſalary they had hired and ingaged to partake with them, and to aſſiſt them in this their deſigne. They gave them extraordinary wages, which is not commonly exhibited unto ſouldiers, for they allowed them two ſhillings a day, to the intent that they ſhould aſsiſt them in the hindrance of the Lord *Brooke* from the removing of the Magazine from *Banburie*.

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The competition of this thing was very long and full of terrour, for the Earle of *Northampton* was very violent, and offered the Lord *Brooke* to encounter with him, and to decide the present controversie by single combat, and not to ingage so many mens lives as were on both sides then preseat in that same quarrell; which the Lord *Brooke* out of judgment and wisdome did refuse to do, advising the said Earle to desist from the prosecution of so bad a cause, which he had undertaken, which must of necessity tend to the subversion of his Lordship and his posterity.

This modest answer did not allay or qualifie the violent spirit of the incensed Earle, but he again offered him to draw out of their forces twenty select men of each side, and by them to decide that dayes difference. But that rash audacity of the Earle was also denied by the Lord *Brooke*, who would not hazard that great trust imposed upon him upon such inconsiderate termes. Upon such and the like discourse, the day was spent, and at the close of the day they parted: But it is since reported, that the Earle of *Northampton* hath seized upon the Magazine at *Banbury*, and hath carried away all the great peeces that were there reposed. Many blowes had like to have passed concerning this difference, and much blood had like to have been spilt, but God did divert it for

ſor the preſent. It is likewiſe reported, that ſince the Lord *Brooke* his coming up to *London*, that the Earle of *Northampton* hath ſeized upon the caſtle of *Warwick*, and withall had taken poſſeſsion of the Magazine of that County.

After Colonell *Goring* had delivered up the haven-town of *Portſmouth* into the kings poſſeſsion, this unfaithfulneſſe in him not without juſt grounds, did move the Houſe of Commons to enter into conſideration concerning the ſecuring of the *Iſle of Wight*, and the diſcharging of the Earle of *Portland* from the government of the ſaid Iſland. Whereupon after much and due conſultation and deliberation, a Charge was drawn up againſt the ſaid Earle of *Portland*, which was to this effect,

'That his Lordſhip was conceived upon very ſtrong grounds and motives to be much Popiſhly affected: and that the reaſon which did induce them to this opinion was, becauſe that his wife and the reſt of her kindred, and his mother, and the moſt of her friends and kindred were of that religion: ſo that being induced to this opinion by theſe grounds, they thought it convenient and very requiſite to place the Caſtle of that Iſland into ſuch hands as might no wayes be ſuſpected, but ſuch as they might confide in: and that they did think it very fitting that his Lordſhip ſhould be kept in cuſto-

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dy for a time, whereby he was committed to Sheriffe *Garret* to be kept in ſafe cuſtody.

This Charge was delivered to the Houſe of Lords by *M. Pym* againſt the Earl of *Portland*.

That Sir Ralph Hopton, M. Tho. Smith, & Captain John Digby ſhalbe diſabled to ſit as members of the Houſe of Commons during this Parliament. That Captain John Digby, Sir Ralph Hopton, M. Tho. Smith, Sir Ferdinand Gorges, Sir Francis Dodington, Richard Board, Hercules Whiting, Nicolas Dounton, James Stroud, John Walker, and John Cooth Parſon of Shipton-Mallet be forthwith ſent for as Delinquents.

Ioh. Brown Cler. Parl.

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A REMONSTRANCE OF

The beginnings and proceedings of the Rebellion in the County of *Cavan*, within the Province of ULSTER in IRELAND,

From the 23. of *October*, 1641. untill the 15. of *June*, 1642. Whereof hitherto nothing hath been reported.

Whereunto is added, The Acts, and twenty nine Conclusions of that great and generall Congregation OF Archbishops, Bishops, and others,

All of the Romish Clergy in IRELAND, met in the City of *Kilkenny* in that Kingdom, on the 10. 11. and 13. of *May* 1642.

Concerning the present State of the Warre in IRELAND, and for the ordering of matters appertaining to the same, both there, and by Negotiation with forraign Princes.

Written, set forth, and presented to the most Honourable the Houses of Parliament,

By *Henry Iones*, D D.

There is also added a Letter written from *Dublin*, *August* 4. 1642. Containing some late and very remarkable passages in IRELAND.

August 11. *London*, Printed for *Godfrey Emerson*. 1642.

The Copy of a Letter from *Dublin*, dated *August.* 4. 1642.

Loving Brother,

I *Have been lately at* Drogheda, *about a Lieutenants place that was promiſed me; between that and* Dublin, *the Rebels did fight with us; there were of ours, but ſeven of Captain* Marows *Troop, who were ſent as a Convoy for my Lord* Blaney *his ſonne, Some of their fellowers, and my ſelf: The enemy was above fourſcore Horſe; we charged them four ſeverall times, and made them flee; We have two ſeverall Armies gone out of* Dublin, *one towards* Kells, *being the way to the County of* Cavan; *The other to the County of* Kildare: *They have taken ſeverall Caſtles, and left Gariſons in them. The Rebels dare not give our men battell; But we hear, That they are very ſtrong in* Munſter, *And moſt of their forces of* Meath, Monaghan, Tyrone, Fermanagh, *and* Armagh, *are in the County of* Cavan, *where is their whole ſtrength that can look upon theſe parts, and there are they ſtrongly fortified. They have burnt all the Towns and Caſtles, not ſparing their own dwellings, in the Counties of* Monaghan, *and* Armagh. *Here may appear how ſmall their confidence is, while they burn their holds. The Scotch Army is within three miles of* Dundalk, *and hath given the enemy many overthrows, So as they dare not meet them any more. The* Scots *have taken from the Rebels about* 6000. *Cows, and as many Horſes of all ſorts. There were* 2500. *Cows by the enemy, driven away from the* Scots, *which fell among the Engliſh Army; So that what doth eſcape the one, the other doth*

take. They would be quickly ſubdued, if all things were right in England. Here is great want of money, whereby the Souldiers are ready to mutine. There is one Captain Vaughan commanding a Troop of Horſe, who is Garriſon'd in Dundalk; he with forty Musketiers, and his Horſe, did this laſt week go forth in the night to Scout, and pillage abroad; being about three miles from Dundalk, he met an Iriſh woman, whom he threatned to kill, if ſhe told him not whence ſhe came; She promiſed, ſo her life were ſpared, to do good ſervice, and enformed him that about ſeven miles thence, there was a very ſtrong Caſtle, wherein were 300. men well provided, and the place well ſtored with pillage; and that conſtantly, about one hour before day, the chiefeſt man among them went out to his devotions in a cloſe adjoyning to the Caſtle, having the Keyes of the Caſtle about him. The Captain laid for him, and found it to be according to his intelligence; he ſuddenly laid hold on the man, whom having made ſure, he opened the Caſtle Gate, and with his Musketiers entred, where the Rebels being ſurpriſed, they were all put to the ſword, not one man of ours being loſt. Here they found good ſtore of good pillage. This is all the News I have for the preſent, &c.

Your loving Brother

Hugh Culme.

The Beginning and Progreſſe of the REBELLION In the County of CAVAN, in the Province of ULSTER in IRELAND,

From OCTOBER 23. 1641. *unto* JUNE 15. 1642.

THe County of *Cavan*, whereinto no part of our Forces hath hitherto made any the leaſt impreſſion, is at this time the Receptacle of all the Rebellious *Lords*, *Gentlemen*, and other their Adherents, who have been forced out of the Counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Louth*, *Monaghan*, *Fermanagh*, and elſwhere thereabout, where *our Armies* have, by Gods power, victoriouſly marched. From hence were ſent out the firſt of that Rebellious rout, who durſt aſſume the boldneſſe, by leaving their own ſeats, to make incurſions upon us, over-running the *County* of *Meath*, and ſurpriſing the *Towns* of *Trim*, *Kells*, *Navan*, *Ardbraccan*, *Athboy*, and thence proceeding to the *ſiege* of *Drogheda*: And from *this place*, it is feared, they may again ſhew themſelves, to our diſadvantage, if it be any longer, as it hath been hitherto, neglected. Which, that it may not, I have herein offered a brief Diſcourſe of the ſtrength and proceedings of the *Rebel* in *that part*, from the 23. of *October*, 1641. untill the 15. of *June*, 1642. purpoſing further to inlarge it in many remarkable paſſages in the *generall Treatiſe*, that ſhall hereafter (God willing) be ſet forth, of the *whole progreſſe of that War throughout the Whole Kingdom*, as *leaſure* and *encouragement* ſhall be thereunto afforded.

The 23. of *October*, 1461. was the *Day* ſet down by the *Conſpirators*, for the *generall undertaking and practice of that moſt horrid Rebellion*; yet did it not, notwithſtanding, in all places appear at once; partly out of the backwardneſſe of ſome, who would ſtay in the proceedings of others, ſee how far, and with what ſecurity they might put themſelves upon that work; partly by a fore-laid compact, that *ſome* (they eſpecially of the Iriſh Lords, and others in the Counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Louth*, and ſome other parts of *Leinſter*) pretending to joyn for the publike ſervice againſt the *Ulſter* Rebells, as did their Anceſtors in the former Rebellions, they might procure *Armes* out of the *ſtore at Dublin*, which they wanted, and wch might after be imployed againſt us. This ſome obtained, though but ſparingly; for the Lords Juſtices and Councel finding their own weakneſſe for the preſent conceived it not expedient, by diſcovering of ſuſpition, to give them occaſion at that time to break out, againſt whom we might after if they did, be better prepared. Some alſo were the longer kept off from declaring themſelves, by their failing in the firſt and main *Act*, the ſurpriſing of the *Caſtle of Dublin*; and others being for ſome while ſtartled at the Reſolution of the *Honorable houſes of Parliament in England*, for the ſending into *Ireland* great and ſpeedy ſupplies of men and money.

Yet if any were backward, the *Ulſter Rebels* were not; and among them, none more forward, then the Iriſh in the *County of Cavan*, conſiſting of the *Septs*, of the *Reilys* in chief, and the *mac Gawrans*, *Bradys*, *Siridans*, *mac Kawnis*, and *Mac abes*, with others of inferiour note. Of *theſe*, *Philip mac Hugh mac Shane O Rely* was choſen for chief Commander, he being head of the *Sept* of the *O Rely's*, and in *Parliament* appearing as *Knight of the Shire* for that *County*.

But *he* who firſt appeared as *head* in this Action, was the then *high-Sheriff* of *that County*, formerly writing himſelf *Miles Reily*, but having with the ſhaking off of his Obedience to the *Engliſh Government*, caſt off what might in his *Name* ſound *Engliſh*, he is now known by the Name of *Mulmore mac Edmond O Reily*.

This deſperate *young man* firſt lead the way; and on the *Saturday* in the afternoon being the 23. of *October*, 1641. by vertue of *his Office* he raiſed the *Poſſe comitatus*, pretending that ſome Rebells were either already, or ready to break in upon the Country from the adjoyning Counties; his firſt work was upon this pretence, and

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for the publike ſervice, to gather in what Arms were in the hands of the *Britiſh* who dwelt ſcatteringly, they thet by ſo wanting the advice and aſſiſtance of each other. All this was in that part of the country where he dwelt, done almoſt in a moment by his Bailiffs & Agents to that end diſpoſed in all places; he himſelf going about where he conceived his preſence was moſt requiſite for this work; whereby all that part of the country was ſuddenly diſarmed, excepting ſuch places of ſtrength, and perſons of note, whom he would not acquaint with this pretence, leſt they might find out the feat. All this was done without any ſhew of violence or injury to any, either in word or action; many offering up their arms, and applauding the care and diligence of the Sheriff for the defence of the country, others not yet medled withall, nothing doubting their own ſecurity, while they ſaw others no way (as they did conceive) damnified.

But this Rebell had ſoon unmasked himſelf, when within a few hours, the ſame day, he firſt entred the Caſtle of *Farnam*, within one mile of the Town of *Cavan*, and thence took out Arms, Pikes, and Muſquets, but none fixed ſo many as might arm more then 50 men; and forthwith with his rabble of followers poſted to *Cloghouter*, 3 miles thence, where, under colour of accuſtomed friendſhip, he imbraced, but there taking priſoner *Arthur Culme* Eſquire, Captain of his Majeſties fort of *Cloghouter* (a fort of great ſtrength, environed with a deep water, and diſtant from ſhore more then Muſquet ſhot) The Captain he laid up in the *caſtle*, committing both to the charge of *Owen O Rely*, with the title of *Conſtable of the caſtle of Cloghouter*.

Next day being the 24, this *Sheriff* with what forces he could raiſe on the ſud den in that part of the County, proceeded to meet with *Philip mac Hugh O Reyly*, the chief Comander, and with his forces preparing to make their approaches to *Belturbet*; which, though it were not the *County Town*, yet was it the moſt populous, and of all others the beſt *Engliſh Plantation* in that County, there being ſuppoſed to have been at that time about 1500 of all ſorts, of all which 4 or 500 were men for ſervice, were they armed accordingly.

This was by the Rebels conceived to be firſt ſecured, leſt diſcovering their intent they might make head, and ſo hinder their proceedings elſwhere; yet could they not come ſo ſoon, neither did they carry the matter with a pretext ſo fair, but that they were found out; for beſides the report of taking *Captain Culme* priſoner, and

ſecuring the fort for themſelves, which no way ſorted with what at firſt they had given out, they were fully diſcovered by many pillaged and ſtript *Engliſh*, who out of the neighbour-County of *Fermanagh* had eſcaped the fury of that monſter of men, *Roury mac Guyre*, brother to the Lord *mac Guyre*, and head of the Rebells in that County, who had the ſame time been on the ſame work that were theſe in the County of *Cavan*. To which alſo was added, that Sir *Francis Hamilton* Knight and Baronet, having received intelligence of theſe proceedings, had ſent unto *Belturbet*, and *Cavan*, deſiring they would ſtand upon their guard, and not be deluded with pretences, as were others. After ſending particularly unto *Captain Robert Baily*, who commanded a *foot company* in the Town of *Cavan*, and to *Captain Richard Ryves*, commanding Sir *John Borlaſes troop*, and garriſon'd in *Belturbet*; that they would draw to him towards *Keilay* a place of ſtrength, that joyning to them the *Britiſh* about *Belturbet*, *Cavan*, and elſwhere, they might in an *united body* make *head* againſt the *Rebell*; had this courſe been taken, there might have been made up a body of 1000 men, if perhaps that number would not rather have doubled by the coming unto them of ſuch Britiſh as fled to the County from *Fermanagh* in very great multitudes; hereby might the proceedings of that Rebell have been at a ſtop, if not wholly defeated, and they kept in work at home, ſo as they ſhould not (as they did after) intend the ſending of forces to *Drogheda*, which they could not have ſpared. But why this did not take, I cannot anſwer. If it be not attributed to the ſudden confuſion of all things, the time admitting no deliberation, and this propoſition from Sir *Francis Hamilton* being words at diſtance, wanting the preſence of ſuch as might give them a full diſcuſſion, and anſwer the objections that might be brought unto them. Captain *Ryves* upon the firſt hearing of theſe tumults made ready of his Troop as many as were not diſperſed in the Country; for the preſent making up the number of 30. then did he call upon the *Townſmen* of *Belturbet* to ſtand upon their defence, which they prepared with all forwardneſſe to do; untill that *Philip mac Hugh O Reily*, and other heads of the Rebels had ſent to *Belturbet*, profeſſing themſelves ready for their defence againſt the incurſions of *Roury mac Guyre* in the next County, who threatned (as they gave out) to break in upon them, they promiſing to put a Guard in-

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to the Town for their ſecurity, without the leaſt prejudice to any of the Inhabitants, either in perſon or goods; the Town alſo ſending out ſome to treat with the Rebels, whom they found to intend more then was pretended; but doubting their own ſtrength for oppoſition, the place being not defencible, the Church being all the guard it had, and hearing the Rebels to be about 4000 ſtrong: Hereupon *Captain Ryves* conceiving it time for him to provide for his ſecurity with thoſe few men he could on the ſudden get together, poſted towards *Cavan*, the Country and time of the yeer being not for *ſervice of horſe*, and knowing the aim of the enemy to be chiefly for ſurpriſing him and his *arms*. From *Cavan* after ſome little ſtay, he ſet forward by *Dalys bridge*, and ſo recovered *Ardbraccan*, a ſtrong Caſtle of the Biſhop of *Meaths*, 22 miles from *Dublin*, where, by command from the Lords Juſtices he remained for ſecuring that part of the Country; he being thereby reſerved for thoſe Honorable ſervices which ſince that time he hath done, in them much deſerving of the publike.

The treaty between the *Townſmen* of *Belturbet* and the *Rebels* had now proceeded ſo far that they put themſelves into the protection, and under that guard placed there by *Philip O Reyly*, having firſt given up their *Arms*, ſo as now they reſted wholly at their mercie, yet violence for that time not being offered unto any.

Belturbet being thus ſecured for their own, they did next look towards *Cavan*, the *County Town*, and 7 miles from *Belturbet*; the place was not defencible, the moſt part of the Inhabitants alſo being Iriſh and Papiſts; ſo that *Captain Bayly* was enforced to betake himſelf unto the *County Gaol*, the place of greateſt ſtrength that was there, yet indeed of no ſtrength to oppoſe an enemy. His company at the full was but 50. of which many were then abſent, and the moſt of thoſe that were preſent were Iriſh, upon whom he could not relye: beſides, that he wanted powder, having no more, or not much more then his Bandeleers to truſt unto. The enemy came in with 3000 men, beſides a confuſed multitude of others, followers of the Army, againſt whom the Town could make no reſiſtance, and the *Caſtle* was by them ſummoned, but all partly rejected by the Captain, thereby more to make triall of the reſolutions, and to finde out the proceedings of the enemy, then out of any confidence he had of any reſiſtance that by him could be made.

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The treaty between the *Townſmen* of *Belturbet* and the *Rebels* had now proceeded ſo far that they put themſelves into the protection, and under that guard placed there by *Philip O Reyly*, having firſt given up their *Arms*, ſo as now they reſted wholly at their mercie, yet violence for that time not being offered unto any.

Belturbet being thus ſecured for their own, they did next look towards *Cavan*, the *County Town*, and 7 miles from *Belturbet*; the place was not defencible, the moſt part of the Inhabitants alſo being Iriſh and Papiſts; ſo that *Captain Bayly* was enforced to betake himſelf unto the *County Gaol*, the place of greateſt ſtrength that was there, yet indeed of no ſtrength to oppoſe an enemy. His company at the full was but 50. of which many were then abſent, and the moſt of thoſe that were preſent were Iriſh, upon whom he could not relye: beſides, that he wanted powder, having no more, or not much more then his Bandeleers to truſt unto. The enemy came in with 3000 men, beſides a confuſed multitude of others, followers of the Army, againſt whom the Town could make no reſiſtance, and the *Caſtle* was by them ſummoned, but all partly rejected by the Captain, thereby more to make triall of the reſolutions, and to finde out the proceedings of the enemy, then out of any confidence he had of any reſiſtance that by him could be made.

male. The ſame countenance he held that 25. and the following 26. of *October*, untill ſeaming to be overcome with the importunity of ſome friends, ſent to treat with him, rather then out of any diffidence of his own condition, the parly was entertained the 27 day, & "the place yeelded on compoſition that the Arms of the company "ſhould paſſe away, and be in the Captains cuſtody within his "own houſe, about one mile diſtant from the *Cavan*, and that "the Captain ſhould neither ſend them, nor joyn himſelf with Sir "*Francis Hamilton* at *Keilagh*, Sir *James Craig* at *Croban*, both "not far off, neither with any other Britiſh within the County, "neither that the Arms ſhould be carryed out of the County.

On the 29. the *Sheriff* with 3000 men paſſing by the Caſtle of *Belanenagh*, where I then lived, and which I did maintain from the 23. untill then, did require the ſurrender of the place, which not being to be maintained, in many reſpects was yeelded, I being with mine committed to the charge of *Philip mac Mulmore O Reily*, *Uncle* to the *Sheriff*, living about a mile thence, and a Garriſon placed in my Caſtle.

Thus the whole County was taken in, within leſſe then a week, excepting the *Caſtles* of *Keilagh*, belonging to Sir *Francis Hamilton*, and of *Croban*, where Sir *James Craig* lived, theſe being out of the way; being alſo very ſtrong for defence, well manned, and well ſtored with Arms, the Rebels reſerved for their better leaſure to look after.

Now did the time fitly ſerve to declare themſelves; now were all the Engliſh whoſe dwellings were diſperſed in the Country, and had bin hitherto ſpared, turned out of doors, robb'd of all, and ſtript naked; now did they fall upon the Engliſh at the *Cavan*, who till then, though living there in fear, yet not expelled; now began they to look again upon *Belturbet*, the Captains giving way to the Garriſon to oppreſſe the Inhabitants; they complaining of breach of the treaty, were by the *Chief* anſwered, that it was not in their power to reſtrain the rude Souldier, who would not be under any command, and therefore adviſed them rather to prepare for their leaving the place, and to retire whither they pleaſed, which they might (ſaid they) do with all ſecurity, taking with them of their own what they pleaſed, promiſing them a ſafe Convoy out of the County.

This,

This was by moſt conceived to be a motion not to be refuſed, for they found the place weary of them, and that to ſtay, were but to give themſelves up to ſpoil; eſpecially ſeeing that contrary to the Quarter unto them given, their Shops were broken up, and the beſt of their goods already in the hands of their enemies, pretending by making up an Inventory of them, and putting them into the cuſtody of reſponſible men, they might be ſecured from the rapine and ſpoil of the rude Souldier.

They therefore prepared for their journey, relying (ſhall I ſay) on the publike Faith given unto them by the chief Commander, and the reſt of the Captains, whereby many found themſelves, as in other reſpects, ſo in this deceived, that upon promiſe they might ſafely carry away what conveniently they might of the choice of their goods (a policie uſed by the enemy for poſſeſſing themſelves of what had been hidden) ſome did dig up what they had buried, and packed up what was moſt eſteemed of them. Thus did the *Lady Butler* with her family, and about 1500 ſouls, men, women and children, ſet forth together, leaving the Town, and putting themſelves under the Convoy of a number no way conſiderable for their ſecurity.

Their way lay through the Town of the *Cavan*, where was a Garriſon of the Rebels, with whom, in all probability, this their treacherous Guard had held correſpondencie: for (paſſing by many hard uſages of theſe poor creatures, from their leaving *Belturbet* till then) as they had a little paſſed the Town of *Cavan*, they were beſet and rifled, their Convoy ſeeming at firſt to be overborn with number, but they with the reſt fell to the ſame work; whereby ſome were killed, all ſtripped, ſome almoſt, others altogether naked, not reſpecting women and ſucking infants; the *Lady Butler* faring herein as did others. Of theſe miſerable creatures, many periſhed by famine, and cold, travelling naked through froſt and ſnow, the reſt recovering *Dublin*, where now many of them are among others, in the ſame diſtreſſe for bread and cloaths.

The whole County being now, for the moſt part, in their own power, they ſpent the time in appointing Officers, muſtering, and exerciſing their men; in the mean time conſulting how to put a fair gloſſe (if it were poſſible) upon all that had been done.

To this purpoſe an *Humble Remonſtrance* (for ſo were they pleaſed

ſed to entitle it) was drawn up, ſetting forth the grievances of that County, and of the whole Kingdom, the pretended cauſes of their riſing up in Arms; deſiring the *Lords Juſtices and Councell* (unto whom it was to be preſented) that from their Lordſhips they might be recommended to His Majeſtie; That ſatisfaction to thoſe their deſires being given, they promiſed reparation to all the diſpoiled Britiſh, by a generall contribution over the Kingdom, if their own eſtates ſufficed not thereunto; profeſſing much deteſtation of the cruelties and robberies exerciſed by the rude multitude, whom (ſaid they) they could not rule. All which was ſubſcribed by *Philip mac Hugh* their Generall, with others their prime Commanders, and Gentry of that County.

Their next conſideration was, whom they ſhould imploy in that ſervice; for none of their own had confidence ſufficient to appear in that cauſe. They had firſt fixed upon *Doctor Bedell Biſhop of Kilmore*; but he fairly excuſed himſelf, firſt by his Age, whereby he was unwieldy, and not fit for that expedition which they expected in that Action; then, that many of the poor Engliſh of *Belturbet*, who had retired to him, and depended upon what ſecurity and ſubſiſtence he could give them, would by his abſence be expoſed to want and other injuries. This they interpreted as a put off; yet did the gravity and reſpect which his preſence did command, reſtrain them from what ſome in their Councell had before propounded, in caſe he ſhould give out, and decline that ſervice for them. I was next in their eye, being in their hands, and deſigned and commanded upon this imployment. I muſt confeſſe, it was ſuch as was in every reſpect improper for me to undergo; but weighing firſt what a deniall might produce, by what was threatned to another, whereof he hath ſince found the effects: but chiefly conſidering, that thereby I might gain the opportunity of laying open to the Lords, what I had obſerved in the proceedings of that County, which might very much conduce to the publike, and which by Letters could not ſo ſafely be delivered; I did therefore accept of that imployment, and after ten dayes ſtay in *Dublin*, returned with an Anſwer. Return I muſt, my wife and children remaining for hoſtages. The *Anſwer*, was fair; but generall and dilatory, ſuitable to the weak condition of affairs in *Dublin*, the ſafety whereof wholly depending on the gain of time.

I do

I do aſſure my ſelf *Theſe Remonſtrants* did not expect any other Anſwer; and it may be would have been very unwilling to receive that ſatisfaction they did pretend to be contented withall; their hopes already ſoaring at an higher pitch: and very probable it is, That their ſaid Remonſtrance tended rather to winne upon the people, whoſe cauſe they pleaded, then to give any reaſonable accompt or ſatisfaction to the Lords, concerning their proceedings. If hereunto this be not alſo added, That all this was but to lull all them in *Dublin* in ſecurity, with a treaty of peace, while they intending nothing leſſe, were even then preparing for Warre, and ready to ſet forward for *Dublin*, where they had overtaken me, had I ſtaid but ten dayes more, as may appear by the ſequell.

For no ſooner was I returned into the County of *Cavan*, but that I found all in Arms, and Proclamation to have been made, that all from the Age of ſixteen to ſixty ſhould appear on Munday after at *Virginia*, a place diſtant from *Cavan* twelve miles, and in the way to *Dublin*. It being already highway-news, that out of that multitude, they purpoſed to frame the Body of an Army of about 3000, who joyning with proportionable numbers out of the Counties of *Fermanagh* and *Monaghan*, were to advance forthwith towards *Dublin*.

Being alſo alighted at the Houſe of *Philip mac Mulmore ô Reyly*, whereunto I had been confined; I found one every way appointed as a Trooper, calling himſelf by the name of *Dowdall*, but being a Fryar; who came thither from *Dublin*, and was ſent (as he alleaged) from thence to haſten their marching away, aſſuring them of a ſtrong party in that City; beſides thoſe in that Gariſon (for ſo it was rather to be eſteemed then an Army) for defence of *Dublin*; wherein were many of the Iriſh liſted, and ſuch as would revolt unto them with with their Arms.

I ſaw how contrary this their proceeding was to that profeſſion of theirs in their Remonſtrance, and the promiſe made to me upon the undertaking that ſervice for them, aſſuring me, and deſiring I ſhould aſſure the Lords from them, That there ſhould be a ceſſation of all things, untill the return of their Lordſhips Anſwer. I found how dangerous in theſe reſpects, this ſudden undertaking might be to the Lords, who might be ſurpriſed, fearing no ſuch danger from

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thoſe parts among all others. I knew by what I had obſerved, how unprovided both for men and victualls *Dublin* was at that time, whereby ſhould the enemy advance according to his deſigne, all might have run an apparant hazard. And that which added to all this That neither had I any ſure hand by whom to ſend, neither could I give any timely notice of theſe Councells, my coming into the County being on Saturday in the afternoon, and they ſetting forward on the Munday morning next following. And laſtly, that in all this, I wanted a ſecond with whom to advice hereupon.

But taking Horſe, I poaſted to *Cavet* a place within one mile of me, where dwelt the *Sheriff*, one of the chiefeſt Rebels, at whoſe houſe, at that very inſtant, their grand Councell was met. That which I propounded to my ſelf, was to endeavour all the means I could for *diverting them from Dublin*, by putting them on upon ſome other ſervice more eaſie, and of little leſſe conſequence: That alſo *time might be gained* by either delaying t[illegible]ty, while I pretended the giving in an generall meeting of the Gentleman, [illegible] appointed, or otherwiſe by finding t[illegible] without marching outright towards *Du*

Having alighted at the Sheriffs door, Garden, from whom I ſoon un[illegible]erſtood be given to the Anſwer I was to deliver impart to him untill I were pub[illegible]likely cal only for the generall, that it was as go the Lords in *Ireland*.

IRREGULA[illegible]

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Therefore declining that, I laboured firſt to make my return unto them a ground of that confidence they might repoſe in me. That for their advantage, I had obſerved the condition of affairs, in and about *Dublin*, which compared with what I found to be now in hand in that County (for then it was no ſecret,) I thought it my part to offer one and the other to him, that he might order his courſe in a way moſt for his ſecurity. That beſides the great ſupplyes concluded in the Parliament of *England* to be ſent into *Ireland*, which were daily expected: The Caſtle of *Dublin* was provided of a Gariſon of 300. men and victualled for ſix moneths. That in *Dublin* the forces were greater then I could beleeve they could have been; So

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as if by their late humble Remonſtrance they had not prevented it, there had before then a ſtrong power been ſent againſt them, which I deſired the Lords might be kept back untill a return, of what effects their Anſwer might produce, were given in unto them. That it was farre from all policy for them to engage their firſt ſetting forth upon that which would be of greateſt oppoſition. That to receive the leaſt ſhew of a defeat in the beginning of their work, were at once to diſhearten their own men, and to keep of others that would according to their ſucceſſe declare themſelves, for, or againſt them. That it might be conceived, That the attempting firſt of *Dreghedah*, though leſſe honorable, compared with the other, yet could be the eaſier, and every way conducing to the intent of their proceedings. That as that place was ſtrong ſo was it with little or no difficulty to be taken in, conſidering the party they had there, and the weakneſſe of the Gariſon, being none other then the Lord

ttaining that place, as it would be an ould it open the way for the Northern in any attempt upon *Dublin*, whereas eir way. That therein they had a place ſafion; whereof they could not readily er he attempted the one, or the other of iſe ſom to ſpend and ſpin out ſome part r other parts in *Meath*, untill the other *ughan* came up unto him; leaſt by ad- own ſtrength, he might be encountred part of the power of *Dublin*; and ſo by too much forwardneſſe endanger the whole. This laſt was added, that thereby, either by Letters from me, or by the appearing of the Enemy, and not marching forward, notice might be given at *Dublin* of their proceedings.

I could not conclude of any thing I had gained upon him in all this diſcourſe, either by his geſture or words, his countenance was compoſed to an unwanted gravity; keeping I ſuppoſe, the diſtance, and that ſtate which his aſſumed greatneſſe had caſt upon him: And although I ſpake much, that he daigned me no anſwer to any part

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Having alighted at the Sheriffs door, he took me aſide into his Garden, from whom I ſoon underſtood how little reſpect would be given to the Anſwer I was to deliver; no part whereof I would impart to him untill I were publikely called upon to declare my ſelf, only for the generall, that it was as good as he could expect from the Lords in *Ireland*.

Therefore declining that, I laboured firſt to make my return unto them a ground of that confidence they might repoſe in me. That for their advantage, I had obſerved the condition of affairs, in and about *Dublin*, which compared with what I found to be now in hand in that County (for then it was no ſecret,) I thought it my part to offer one and the other to him, that he might order his courſe in a way moſt for his ſecurity. That beſides the great ſupplyes concluded in the Parliament of *England* to be ſent into *Ireland*, which were daily expected: The Caſtle of *Dublin* was provided of a Gariſon of 300. men and victualled for ſix moneths. That in *Dublin* the forces were greater then I could beleeve they could have been; So

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 hereof,

hereof, but drew me off to another matter, and ſoon after parted from me, yet with reſpects.

There was one intimate with them, and whom upon promiſe of pardon and great rewards, I had more then half moulded before to my purpoſe, and whom I found in many particulars before, to co-operate with me, by keeping in with them to give me Intelligence of their deſignes. Having brought him along with me thither, I left him there to be preſent in their Councell, and thereof to give me an accompt with all ſecrecy and ſpeed, I retiring to my Lodging whence I came.

By the return which was made unto me about three hours after (and then it began to be late) I found that they had been divided in their opinions: ſome were for a direct marching to *Dublin*, and giving the On-ſet upon the place, grounding upon the information given them by the Frier: others doubting what a repulſe might produce, conceived it the ſafeſt and beſt courſe to quarter about *Dublin*, at ſome diſtance, thereby to hinder the going in of Proviſion; to expect a convenient time of aſſaulting it, if it were found fit to attempt it; to gather all that would joyn with them thereabouts, whereby they would ſoon grow to a conſiderable Body for any enterpriſe; and that in the mean time they might divert the water that from *Templeoge* did furniſh one part of the City, by which alſo the Mills were kept on work; either of theſe might have proved moſt perillous: but the third was wholly for *Dregheda*, for the reaſons aforeſaid, which ſeemed to weigh down the other two (it may be) becauſe the Sheriff was the propounder, and inclined thereunto, yet was it not reſolved, untill their meeting at *Kells*, whether of theſe to fix upon: to which time and place it was deferred.

Thereupon I made ready my Letters, and dealt with mine Intelligencer for the delivery of them into whoſe hands I muſt therein put mine own, and the lives of mine. He muſt have been of neceſſity on *Monday* morning at the generall meeting at *Virginia*, whence ſhould he have abſented himſelf, beſides what was threatened to any that made default, both of us might have been drawn into ſuſpition; and

and by his preſence amohg them, I might further underſtand of their conſes: I obtained therefore thus much of him, That he would deliver my Letter to a Gentleman dwelling within Nine miles, or thereabouts, from *Arbraccan*, whom, in my Letter to him, I deſired to deliver the encloſed with ſpeed to Captain *Ryves*, at *Arbraccan*, which he did, yet not with that ſpeed that I deſired, and which the cauſe required, but I thought it not ſafe to acquaint them with the occaſion. In my Letter to Captain *Ryves*, I declared a deſigne the enemy had upon him, purpoſing to be with him the *Wedneſday* following, and by a Drove of Cattell that ſhould paſſe by him to draw him out of his ſtrength, of which I gave him notice, leaving the reſt to himſelf, deſiring that with all ſpeed the encloſed to the Lords Juſtices ſhould be diſpatched upon ſight, being of the greateſt concernment. Theſe Letters being peruſed by the Lords, they ſent their Commands to Captain *Ryves* to retire, which he did, therein preventing the enemy, who the night following took up his quarters. I did alſo certifie their Lordſhips of the whole conceits of the enemies, leaving to their Wiſedoms to provide both for *Drogheda* and *Dublin*; for as they were eaſily drawn off from *Dublin*, to think of *Drogheda*, ſo might they as readily, alter that reſolution again: wherein their Lordſhips were not wanting; for while the enemy was ſpending time about *Kells*, *Trim*, *Athboy*, & *Navan*, we gained the opportunity of ordering matters to the beſt advantage, both for *Dublin* and *Drogheda*, yet ſo as by ſome miſcarriage (I cannot yet ſay by whoſe) the enemy met with 600 of our men, ſent for a further ſupply to *Drogheda*, whom they defeated, and after much miſchief thereabouts, ſetled themſelves to the Siege of that Town; where, by the Wiſedom and Valour of the Governour, that place had found them work, to the preſervation (in all probability) of *Dublin*, and therein, of the whole Kingdom.

As for mine own Particular, Having many weeks after continued in the houſe of my Bondage, I conceived it high time to ſtudy my coming off, by all means; which by Gods aſſiſtance was ſtrangely effected: till then, my ſtay was not altogether againſt my will, while I found my ſelf enabled by Intelligence to promote the ſervice of my

Countrey. But finding him who was my chief Agent, from a Neuter, to fall wholly to them; That alſo ſome of mine own ſervants employed by me, was with the enemy at *Drogheda*; and that the Gentleman, the deliverer of that my Letter to Captain *Ryves* at *Arbracan*, was fallen away, I could not expect, in my ſtay here, to do any more good, but thereby might rather prejudice my ſelf in the higheſt degree, were I diſcovered. And it was by many conceived ſtrange, that in all that time I was not found out by their means: but as I do in the firſt place make the work to be Gods, So do I next attribute it to the having their hands in the work with me, ſo as they could not but ſuffer with me.

Hitherto hath been declared the ſtate of matters in that County, from the 23 of *October*, unto the 11 of *December*: all being reduced into the hands of the Rebels, excepting the two Caſtles of *Kylagh* and *Croban*, maintained againſt them by Sir *Francis Hammilton*, Knight and Baronet, and Sir *James Craig* Knight.

Theſe two Noble Knights, upon the firſt noiſe of the Rebellion, did both awaken the ſecurity of others about them, and provided for their own defence. Their Caſtles were ſtrong and defenſible, which they furniſhed with men and victualls. Sir *Francis Hammilton* had armed two hundred and fifty Foot, and thirty ſix Horſe, moſt of his own Tenants; he was ſtored with three Barrells of Powder, and laid in Proviſion for ſix months, which yet fell ſhort of that time, by receiving into his Caſtle of about Seven hundred other unſerviceable perſons, men, women, and children almoſt ſtripped naked, and flying thither from the fury of the Rebells. In Sir *James Craigs* Caſtle at *Croban*, there were One hundred and twenty, beſides unſerviceable perſons, who in like manner were fled thither for refuge, to a great number.

I have before ſet forth the honourable quarter given unto Captain *Bayly*, upon the ſurrender of (what he could not keep) his weak Hold at the *Cavan*, it being conditioned that he ſhould have in his own keeping the Arms for his Company of 50 men with which they

ſuffered

ſuffered him to paſſe, and accordingly he paſſed them without moleſtation. But it being conſidered that he was limited to a place of laying them up, and that onely in his own houſe, being covered with thatch, and ſo eaſily commanded at their pleaſure; he alſo wanting men for guarding of them, for moſt of his Company were revolted, we have reaſon to conceive that all this in them was rather *a not yet breaking*, rather then *a keeping of quarter*; that under a ſhew of fair dealing, they might draw others who held out, with greater confidence to put themſelves into their hands.

This was apparant in their preparation made for their marching towards *Drogheda*; at which time they concluded the taking into their hands thoſe Arms, which at their pleaſure they might eaſily do, and which till then they had forborn to do.

Hereof Sir *Francis Hammilton* receiving advertiſement, the night before this ſhould have been put in execution, he ſent out 30 Horſe, and 20 Foot, under the leading of M. *Malcolme Hamilton*, M. *David Creighton*, and *James Somervile*, (Gentlemen approved for many ſervices then and after) at the Bridge of *Ballibillian* (called the black Bridge) they left their Foot to make good their Retreat, the Horſe paſſing forward to the Captains houſe, whom having mounted, they brought him away together with his *Enſigne*, *Sargeant*, *Colours*, and what of the *Arms* they could poſſibly carry with them; a Service as conſiderable, as it was to the undertakers dangerous: For had the Alarm, being given time enough to the enemy, being 3000, and lying within leſſe then two miles, and the paſſage of the *Blackbridge* taken from them, they could not have eſcaped; and a miracle it was almoſt, that in the riding of 6 miles (ſcarce any by-place wanting an Iriſh Cottage) yet they ſhould ſo paſſe undiſcovered, untill they were out of all danger, the enemy afterwards hotly purſuing, but in vain. Some Pikes the enemy had after found in the Captains houſe, which could not in haſte by our men be either carried away, or made unſerviceable; and ſome Pieces of Armour were taken up here and there ſcattered in the way, being fallen from them; ſo that now the Rebels condemned the keeping of that Quarter ſo long, and that they had before-

before ſecured that paſſage, as ſince that time they did, both by cutting the Bridge, being of wood, and placing there a ſtrong Guard beſides.

This, and other incurſions out of theſe two Caſtles made upon the Rebels remaining in that County, while their fellows were at the ſiege of *Drogheda*, occaſioned the ſending back from the *Siege*, *Edmund ô Reyly*, father to the *Sheriff*, with command with what forces he could raiſe, to take in *theſe places*; that ſo they might without any diſtraction intend their great deſigne abroad.

For effecting hereof, To thoſe raiſed in that County were joyned, others called in from the neighbour County of *Leitrim*, both making up above 2000, whom *Edmund* their Commander conceived more then ſufficient for that ſervice, purpoſing to beſiege both Caſtles at once, which he might eaſily and conveniently have done. For they were within little more then a mile of each other, being on the one ſide ſhut in with water, over which at that time there could be for the beſieged, no paſſage; other parts being compaſſed with Woods, fit for the enemies purpoſe, wherein they might ſo have placed themſelves, as their could be no getting off that way. In the midſt between both Caſtles, did ſtand the *Town of Killiſhandra*, belonging to Sir *Francis Hammilton*, conveaient for the enemies quarters, anſwering to both places, and ſufficient with all conveniency of good houſes to lodge the whole Army; ſo that there wanted nothing to advantage the beſieges, or to diſtreſſe the beſieged.

Upon Intelligence received of their approaching (for the Scouts were the only Intelligencers.) Sir *Francis Hammilton* ſent out a party of Horſe and Foot, burning all places about, beginning with his own Town of *Killiſhandra*, by himſelf built and planted, that it might not ſtand the enemy in ſtead; ſo alſo did Sir *James Craig*, about him; whereby the Rebell was diſappointed of his quarters; without which he could not ſubſiſt in that cold ſeaſon of Froſt and Snow; finding it more then he was well able to do, to ſtay there, only two nights.

That time of his being there was ſpent in drawing up towards Sir *Iames Craigs* Caſtle of *Croham*; whence they were beaten backe with their loſſe of 14 men, and the taking priſoners of *Laghlyn O Rourke*, and *Brian O Rourke*, eminent perſons among them, and prime leaders of the *Letrim rebels*, theſe were after exchanged by Sir *James Craig* for *Dr. Bedell Biſhop of Kilmore* and ſome others; yet contrary to this agreement did they againe lay hold on *that Reverend Perſon*, only affording him a being, where they might at their pleaſure command him, where he after died: being one of the brighteſt lights of that Church, both for learning and a ſhining converſation, and in his conſtant diligence in the worke of the miniſtry a patterne to others.

The Enemy ſoone weary of his bad lodging, and worſe entertainment, though his loſſe were not great, His offers of faire quarter being reiected, prepared to be gone: yet not without doing ſomething anſwerable to the greatneſſe of his preparations and the expectation every where had of them: which was, the ſtealing away of ſome few ſtragling cattle about the Caſtles; I ſay *ſtealing* them away, for he durſt not advance within ſight or command of muſket ſhot of either, and with theſe great ſpoyles did he returne in triumph, ſupplying what he wanted of doing, with menaces and promiſes, of what he would doe.

About a fortnight after, it being given out that they meant to returne; Sir *Francis Hamilton* ſent abroad 12 horſes to burne all within three or foure miles about him: in doing whereof, they diſcovered the Enemy drawing towards them, being about three hundred, of which having ſent ſpeedy notice to Sir *Francis* (which alſo he commanded they ſhould doe) who to anſwer any ſuch occaſion, had in readineſſe other twelve horſes and ſixty foot, with whom he marched, eaſily directing his courſe by the fires his men before ſent forth had made, for they according to their directions ſo avoyded the Enemy, that yet they ſtil kept them in play, coaſting from place to place neere about, and firing what they came nees, expecting the comming up of their ſeconds: Sir *Francis* had in a convenient place for his owne retreit, and for diſtreſſing the Enemy ſhould they follow him, laid forty five of his foot: and with fifteene of the ableſt of them drew up, with whom and his twenty foure horſes, he ſet upon the

 Rebels,

Rebels, at the firſt volly killing ſix of them, of whom *Fr.O rourke* a *Fryar* was one, who in the Habit of his Order did lead the Company, at the next there fell nine, the Enemy ſtanding to it while moſt of our Bandileeres were ſpent, but being broken by the Horſe they fled and were purſued about two miles: thirty ſeaven of them were ſlaine, the comming on of the night, and the diſadvantage of the wayes for horſe, in reſpect of their foot, ſaving the reſt. There were taken priſoners, *Owen O rourke* their Commander, one of great eſteeme; and *Philip O reyly* Vnkle to *Philip Mac Hugh O reyly*, Colonel (as they call him) of that whole County.

All meanes were uſed by Treaties, and threatnings, for getting off theſe priſoners; concerning whom Sir *Francis* was ſolicited by frequent Letters from *Edmund O reyly*, but in vaine: theſe being reſerved (as perſons of the beſt reſpects) to anſwer any the like occaſion that might befall the beſt of ours.

In ſuch Services ſtood matters in thoſe parts, untill the *firſt of February*, at which time there was great expectation of what ſhould be done againſt theſe two Caſtles by *Mulmore O reyly* the Sheriffe; for ſo I muſt ſtill call him, he calling himſelfe ſo, notwithſtanding he had been already diſcharged, but chiefly to diſtinguiſh him from others of the ſame name, and of leſſe note, he being in their eſteem the ſecond in that County.

As the ſeverall loſſes the country received from theſe few *Britiſh*, had before drawne *Edmund O reyly* with ſome of his men from before *Droghedah*, ſo their proceeding in the ſame courſe notwithſtanding, & principally the ſaid *Edmunds* late repulſe, with all thoſe forces, and the taking and keeping of their late priſoners, called home from that ſiege *Mulmore O reyly*, for doing what his father *Edmund* could not.

Wherein we may finde of what conſequence theſe ſeeming ſleight ſervices have been to hinder the proceedings of the Enemy abroad. for beſides the reſerving a conſiderable number at the firſt at home, ſo as they could not goe forth with their full power; it did dayly diminiſh their Army before *Droghedah*: firſt, in the comming away of *Edmund*, then of this *Mulmore O reyly*, who though they returned without any great numbers, yet ſome they had; and thoſe under their command left behind ſoone after followed them notwithſtanding any com-

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mand to the contrary, weighing the greatneſſe of the ſervice in the County of *Cavan*, by the eminency of the perſons ſent about it; and judging their labour better ſpent in maintaining at home what was their own, then loſing that and themſelves in looking after that they never had and never were likely to have: ſo that of 3000 men that went out of that *County* to the ſiege of *Droghedah* there remmained not 700 with *Philip mac Hugh o Reyly* their chiefe Commander: and the moſt deſperate attempts that have been made either againſt that Towne, or for hindring the ſupplies ſent to it by ſea, were done by thoſe of this County. Hereby alſo might appeare, could any Forces at that time have been ſpared about *Dublin* and ſent in this County what ſervice they might have done for raiſing the ſiege of *Droghedah*; for the Town was blocked up on that part that lay towards *Dublin* if not onely yet chiefly by the *Cavan* Forces, whom we ſee drawn home by an handfull of men. Hereby laſtly we may ſee of what conſequence it had been to have ſince the ſiege of *Droghedah*, ſent ſome Forces into that part for relieving theſe two Caſtles, whereby the enemy might ſtill have been kept on worke, other places in the ſame County furniſhed with the like gariſons, and by burning the reſt, not ſuffering it to be (as now it is) the harbour of thoſe, who, if not prevented, may make the latter end with us worſe than the beginning.

But leaving this neceſſary digreſſion, for which I doe intend the whole diſcourſe, I return where I left.

Mulmore o Reyly being returned from before *Droghedah*, where he left *Philip mac Hugh o Reyly*, he began to gather up his men not doubting to make but one, and that no long worke of what he came about: therein alſo ambitious of the glory of doing that wherein others had failed. Of ſuch as came along with him, that followed after him, that he found in the Country, and whom he called in out of the Countrey of *Letrim*, he framed the body of an army of 2700. and that it might not be ſhort in number of that with which he hoped at his firſt ſetting out to take *Dublin* it ſelfe, he ſent for *Robert Nugent* of *Carleuſton* in the County of *Weſtmeath*, a Gentleman of 1500 l. *per annum*, who upon promiſe of the Armes in both Caſtles (the queſtion not being of taking the places, but for dividing the ſpoyles) came in perſon with 300 choice men.

With this Army of three thouſand men, beſides a multitude of others who followed to behold the ſport (for no otherwiſe did they conceive of it) *Mulmore* did quarter about five miles over night in the places next the Caſtles which had not been burnt, purpoſing to begin the next day & with the day to take all before him.

The newes hereof did no way diſmay thoſe who were to receive them, they being ſo farre from immuring themſelves up in their Forts, there to expect them, that Sir *Francis Hammilton* drew up his ſmall number into the field, placing in the lane being the high way leading from *Killiſhandra* to his Caſtle of *Kylagh* 150 men, ſome few Muſqueteeres being here and there left in places of greateſt advantage. And that the enemy might not by making a neerer way to this Caſtle (which he might do) finde him worke in many places at once, he commanded thirty horſe to guard the Windmill-Hill joyning to the highway towards *Killiſhandra* by which the enemy muſt march, being alſo ſo neere to his Caſtle, that they might heare and underſtand one another ſpeaking aloud. Behind the horſe, he caſt up a ſmall ſconce of Earth guarded with ſixteen Musketeeres, to whom the horſe might retire, and both of them to make good that paſſage. It was alſo ſo ordered, that thoſe ſcattered Musketeeres that were furtheſt off having given fire and done their parts there, ſhould retire to the next, and they united doing their duty, to fall together back to the next, doing in like manner, untill being forced to give ground they might make a faire and orderly retreat for defence of the Caſtle.

The enemy now in ſight, put forth ſome horſe to skirmiſh with ours on the Windmill-hill. Of theirs three fell, and the reſt fell off, untill by the comming on of the whole body, our horſe fell backe under the command of the Musketeeres; who giving fire, the enemy was forced to keepe himſelfe to the high-way leading to *Killiſhandra*, making in the ſtreet a ſtand to conſider of his courſe.

His intent was not now, as theirs before, to *beſiege*. The dull proceedings of his father ſuited not with the waies of this heady yong man: he is wholly for the *aſſault*. Neither will he begin with *Crohan* as did the other, but reſolveth to fall upon that which of the two was the ſtrongeſt and the beſt provided place, and to keepe

keepe his firſt man, Sir *Francis Hammilton* by whom he was moſt injured. For at that inſtant one of the Musketeers placed in the lane tooke aime, and, though at very great diſtance, knockt downe among the company one *Fitz-Simonds* an *Enſigne-bearer*, at whoſe fall there was a great cry.

Whereupon a hundred commanded Musketeeres of the enemy fell in within the ditches on both ſides the lane, to beate upon ours within the lane, while their maine body came directly forward. Both one and the other of them were ſufficiently galled by our ſhot; who performed well, and obſerved their commands. For the firſt looſe ſhot having diſcharged their parts retired, and with thoſe unto whom they put themſelves made good their ground, till by degrees retreating, they did altogether betake themſelves to thoſe places and duties appointed them for the defence of the Caſtle. Some onely charging of muskets, others diſcharging them from the flankers, windows, and batlements.

For now was the enemy approached; having firſt preſented the defendants with a great Peece upon carriages planted on Windmill-hill, after our men had forſaken it, with which a battery was threatned, if they yeelded not. But as it could not ſpeake for it ſelfe, being but counterfeit, and made of wood; ſo did it worke nothing upon them in the Caſtle, who were wholly intent upon thoſe who were now ſo neer that they were under the command of their Muskets.

The enemy finding many of their men to fall, retired under a riſing of ground where we could not hurt them. Thence they ſent and fired a ſtable, barne, other out-houſes, and ſome ſtacks of Corne, that they might march unſeen under a cloud of ſmoake which the wind did to their great advantage drive upon the Caſtle. Some of them with ſheaves of Oats, and ſtraw burning, on the tops of their pikes ran to the Flankers, thruſting them into thoſe places whence the musketeers plaied upon them, by the fire and ſmoake to force them out; one of them adventurouſly laid hold of a musket in one of the ſpike-holes ready to be diſcharged. Thus came they on in a moſt deſperate manner, being before made, to that end, more then halfe drunke with their *Aquavitæ*, continuing in that headlong courſe about three quarters of an houre without gaining any thing upon

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us (wanting ſcaling ladders) but loſing themſelves, their bodies beeing laid open to our ſhot from all parts, as the breaking up of the ſmoke gave way to diſcover them. Neither did their ſhot againſt our walls, windowes, or batlements, of which they were not ſparing out of ſuch places of advantage whence we could not command them, do us any hurt. Thus having wearied themſelves out in vaine, and being at length ſencible of their deſperate undertakings, they now take care how to get off with leaſt prejudice, they being no more to be gotten on by all that could be ſaid or don by their *Commanders*, I cannot ſay their *Leaders*; for none of their Officers would come up in all this ſervice: which being objected to them while they urged a ſecond aſſault, one of the Captaines to ſhew his forwardneſſe above others would go on, and turning about to his Souldiers he was met with a bullet which paſſed through both his cheekes, which was to him, and all his fellowes, and followers a ſufficient ſtop, from proceeding any further,

Whereupon they altogether retreated; now applying themſelves to what they are more skilfull in, the gathering together and taking away all the cattell that were without the Caſtle, which they did, doing the like through all the way they went back, for ſix miles together, leſt any ſhould fall in the power of our men for their ſupply.

The ſhot in this fight was heard in the *Caſtle Cleghoutèr* two miles off by water, and the Priſoners therein, ſeeing the fire and ſmoke, conceived Sir *Francis* his Caſtle had been burnt.

In all this it could not be but very many of the enemy muſt have beene killed, yet could we underſtand of no more then 167, few of thoſe that were hurt ever recovering. One of ours was ſhot through a ſpikehole, another had his Armor and dublet ſhot through, without further harme, who ſeeing the paſſage it had made, hee told his fellow that it could not be but that he was a dead man, though he felt no hurt, neither could be perſwaded till unbracing himſelfe the bullet was found between his doublet and ſhirt. It is obſerved that in the whole ſervice from the 23. of *October* 11 the 15 of *June*, ſetting aſide ſuch as were cut off in ſtragling, there were loſt in fight, no more then *five* men belonging to this Caſtle,

one

one of them being Robert *Mac Lalan* a *Sergeant*, who being taken at an advantage, was barbarously mangled having thirty six wounds.

Thus have we seene the end of this great undertaking, neither durst the Enamy make another like approch for three moneths after; conceiving himselfe to have donne sufficiently in placing guards upon Bridges, and passes, many miles off, not thereby to make his way upon us, but to hinder our incursions (which he feard) upon his.

Yet could not this be any stop to Sir *Francis Hammilton*, who within two dayes after, breaking into the parts of the County of *Letrim* to him adjoyning, with 20 Horse and 100 Foote, having killed some stragglers (for others he met none) returned with 40 Cowes and 200 Sheep.

Desirous also to try the countenance of his Neighbours placed by him (the Enemies guards about *Bradies* Bridge, and the Bridge of *Ballibillian*) and thence to bring in some Corne for his supply, he sent out 60 musketeeres with some woman and youths, to carry away the Corne being burnt out of the eare (as the fashion there is, when they want time to thrash) these being defended by the Souldiers. The enemy being not far off appeard to the number of 200, yet durst they not deale with our men who had placed them selves for their advantage, expecting the comming of Sir *Francis* who prepared for to second them, and after a while drew neere with forty Foote, and forty Horse, whereof ten belonged to Sir *James Craig*. Vpon approach of these the first who had before faced the Rebels with a great shoute brake out upon them, and Sir *Francis* falling on, they fled, and being a little way pursued, ours retreated esteeming it sufficient to have disengaged their fellowes, and secured that small quantity of Corn that was carried away. Our backs being turned, the enemy came on with a most terrible cry, as if we fled. Whereupon Sir *Francis* making a stand, he mounted forty Musketeeres behind his Horsemen and galloped after them, hoping to gaine a place of strength which lay betweene them and the Bridge, and so to engage them betweene his men. But they finding his intent, made from him thitherward, and having possessed themselves thereof

of made themſelves for reſiſtance, of which we having killed one man, retired without being any further purſued, in the returne, burning all before us.

About this time, the bloody Sheriffe thus diſappointed of his cruelty, and for revenging on ſome what he ſuffered from others, commanded thoſe poore Britiſh that were left in the Towne of *Belturbet* and not able to follow the reſt, to be forced from off the Bridge into the deep river, where they were all to the number of 60. ſwallowed up and periſhed.

This being reported to them at *Kylagh* and *Crohan*, Sir *Francis Hammilton*, and Sir *Iames Craig* reſolved on revenge, they going forth in ſeverall parties.

Sir *Francis* with 30 Horſe and 100 Foote, drew to a place called *Derewily* bordering on the County of *Letrim*, having intelligence of 60 rebels lying in a wood. To the place he came without diſcovery about the dawning of the day, ſurpriſing them in their cabbins and beds; of whom 27 he ſlew, taking 14 priſoners, the Souldiers being unwilling to repreeve any; theſe he after hanged, the reſt eſcaping by reaſon of the wood. But 50 of Sir *Iames Craigs* Foote being by Sir *Francis Hammilton* appointed to attend any ſuch occaſion on the other ſide of the water (for a river was betweene them) they who eſcaped the one, fell into the handes of the other, of whom they ſlew ten and hang'd foure. Thus were all of the rebells uſed who after that time fell within their power.

About the middle of *March* the ſtore in both Caſtles fell ſhort, by feeding ſo many mouthes: ſo that thenceforth they muſt fight for what they muſt eate; which they commonly did thrice a week, with very great hazard, for there were placed 200 rebells to guard the paſſages in Sir *Iames Craigs* woods; 200 under Captaine *Iohn O Reyly* at *Bradys* Bridge, and *Mulmore* the great Sherife was now content himſelfe to quarter in a Cottadge with 300 men about him at the Bridge of *Ballibillan*, to keepe our men from looking abroad.

On the 8 of *April* died Sir *Iames Craig*. A Gentleman of ſingular and the beſt Abilities; well deſerving of his Country both in peace and War: of whom I ſay the leſſe becauſe I cannot write enough.

The loſſe of this worthy perſon, as it could not but be of exceeding great diſadvantage to the ſervice; So did it double the pains, care, and charge of Sir *Francis Hamilton*, upon whom the overſight and ordering of matters in both Caſtles was now caſt. For at this time was the Lady *Craig* faln ſick & the company in the Caſtle waſted by a mortall and infectious ſicknes, whereof there died 160, and the forces then remayning not ſufficing for the guard of place. Wherby Sir *Francis* was enforced to ſend of his own for ſecuring it: a Squadron being daily from his Caſtle of *Kylagh*, ſent to *Crohan*, doing duty by turns, for no one would be perſwaded to continue there, in reſpect of the infection, theſe were lead out and brought off, by a ſtrong Guard to that purpoſe, ſent twice each day, placing the like number in *Crohan*, as they took out.

Neceſſity would not ſuffer them to be idle, therefore about the 22 of *April*, did Sir *Francis Hamilton*, with 210 foot and 40 horſe, taken out of both Caſtles goe forth to forrage; and ſtrong hee muſt goe, all places being ſtrongly laid againſt him. Hee tooke his way towards *Tullagha*, and under the covert of a Wood laid an ambuſh of 150 men, ſending the other, divided into two Companies, together with women and boyes, to gather in and drive away what cattle could thereabouts be met withall, commanding them if ſet upon by more then they could maſter, to make their retreat, and draw on the enemy, within the danger of the ambuſcado, which ſorted accordingly for theſe Forragers, were purſued by three hundred of the enemy, who followed them untill falling into the trap prepared for them: they being ſet upon fell into the Wood, whither our foot followed them, and as they ſought their wayes out from the foot, the horſe that guarded the paſſages, beat them back into the Wood, in which hunting-chace there were ſlain of them 45, of whom 14 were of the Sect of the *Macgawrans*, all landed men. Few of the reſt could have eſcaped, had not our men been called off by a diſcovery made by our Scouts of another Enemy approching Sir *Francis* having ordered his men for a ſecond ſervice, the Rebels though farre exceeding in number, were content to ſuffer him to paſſe without any interruption, bringing off with him ſixty Cows, which were divided between both Caſtles,

In theſe and ſuch daily and light ſervices was the time taken up untill the fourth day of *May*. For now the Enemy finding that by their Guards at diſtance they were but loſers, as often as their looſe Companies encountred ours; and that therein they attained not their ends, which was the ſhutting us up from proviſion; being alſo enformed, that for want of victuals the Caſtles could not hold out ten days; which was related to them by one *Barlow* a Fugitive, out of Sir *Francis* his Caſtle, where till then he & his had bin relieved. They did therefore once more reſolve to engage themſelves upon it, and to make it their laſt worke, concluding not to deſiſt, or raiſe their ſiege till all were theirs.

To this end they drew up into *Killiſhandra*, and all the places about, being at their firſt quartering about two thouſand, which was ſoone after made three thouſand, and that number doubled by the comming into the County of *Cavan*, of all thoſe Lords, Gentlemen, and others who had been by our Armies forced out of *Meath*, and other parts, beſides the return of *Philip Mac Hugh O Rely*, with his men from *Drogheda* whence he was beaten off.

Thus were theſe two Caſtles ſhut up at once without any intercourſe. As for that of *Crohan*, beſides their other wants the beſieged had their water without them, which the Rebels laboured to take away from them by ſhutting them up, ſo as they ſhould not without loſſe look out at the Caſtle-gates. To this purpoſe, they had in the night in a place of advantage caſt up ſome works within leſſe then half a Muſket ſhot from the gate, out of which by the valour of the Defendants, they were more then once removed with loſſe, and their Trenches caſt down, yet did they, as oft repoſſeſſe themſelves of them in the night, and rebuild with ſome further Fortifications, what had been before demoliſhed. By this means the diſtreſſe for water was great within, not having any but what by women or ſome others who in the night durſt adventure forth, was brought in, and ſold to them at four pence the quart. But to make it wholly unſerviceable, the Rebels firſt caſt into the Well a dead Dog; and after the carcaſſe of a man that had long been unburied. So that they were enforced to dig within the Walls where they found water, but muddy and unwholſome.

In

In Sir *Francis Hamiltons* Caſtle proviſion of victuals was ſhort, no bread was eaten there a fortnight before the ſurrender. Their milch Cows reſerved for giving milk to the ſick were firſt killed; then moſt of their horſes, after their dogs; and laſtly, they eat the Hydes of Beaſts ſlain many moneths before. The Souldiers in theſe their ſufferings began to mutine, ſix or ſeven having run away with their arms to the Enemy; the ſickneſſe of Sir *Francis Hamilton* occaſioned by extraordinary pains, care, watching, and hard fare, adding to theſe diſcouragements.

Theſe extremities thus ſuffered from the fourth of *May*, untill the fourth of *June*; all ſupplyes from *Dublin* being in vaine expected more then ſeven moneths; there being alſo no hope left of any further ſubſiſtence where they were; Sir *Francis* now forcing himſelf out of his bed, began to entertaine that Treaty for Quarter, which by the enemy had been daily offered, and till then was refuſed.

He deſired in the firſt place that Maſter *Thomas Price* Archdeacon of *Kilmore*, and Maſter *Ambroſe Bedell*, chiefe in the Caſtle of *Crohan*, might be admitted with ſafety to conferre with him, that by their advice he might capitulate for both Caſtles, which after much debate and ſome difficultie was condeſcended unto. From whom he having underſtood that the Caſtle of *Crohan* was in no condition for longer reſiſting it was concluded that the *Treaty for ſurrender* ſhould proceed.

On the one part appeared *Philip Mac Hugh O Reley*, the Colonel, with *Mulmore O Reyly* the Sheriffe, and foure other Captains. On the other was Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Sir *Arthur Forbes* Baronet (a Gentleman about ſeventeen, yet one in all ſervices) with two other Gentlemen for the Caſtle of *Kylagh*; and Maſter *Price*, and Maſter *Bedell* for *Crohan*, between theſe certain Articles were agreed upon, as followeth.

Articles of agreement concluded and agreed upon, the quarter give by Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shan *rely, and the reſt of the Gentlemen here under named to ſir* Francis Hamilton *concerning the Caſtles of* Kylagh *and* Crohan, *in manner and forme following, bearing date the fourth day of* Iune 1642.

1. *Inprimis*, It is agreed by and between theſe parties following, *viz.* Sir *Francis Hamilton* Knight and Baronet, in the behalfe of the Lady *Mary Cravge*, himſelfe, the Gentlemen, Gentlewomen, Souldiers, and all others both men, women and children, of what degree, condition, or quality whatſoever, belonging unto, or being in either of both Caſtles, *viz. Kylagh* and *Crohan*, ſhall have ſafe quarter from *Philip Mac Hugh Relie*, *Edmond Relie*, *Philip mac Mulmore relie*, *Mulmore mac Edmond Relie*, *Hugh buii Relie*, *Iohn mac Philip Relie*, *Philip roe Relie*, *Iames Neugent*, *R. A. Owen Rourke* Eſquires, *Edmond mac Owen Relie*, *Ferall oge Relie*, *Charles mac Gauran*, *Daniel mac Gauran*, *Iohn mac Kernan*, *Conner Relie*, *Relie*, and *Tirlagh*, *Cahil Relie*, to bee convoyed to *Droghedah* with ſaftie of their lives, and of their bag and baggage, which they ſhall carry with them and that ſuch perſons above named as are herein mentioned by particular name, viz. *Philip mac Hugh Relie*, *Philip mac Mulmore Relie*, *Mulmore mac Edmond Relie*, *Philip roe Relie*, *Iohn mac Philip Relie*, with ſuch companie as they ſhall thinke fit, ſhall goe in perſon to guard us that are above mentioned, together with ſuch a competent number of ſouldiers, a Liſt being delivered unto Sir *Francis Hamilton* of their names as ſhall be ſufficient to defend us from the danger or hurt of any that may aſſaile us with any intention to hurt us, or any of us before mentioned in our lives or goods; and it is likewiſe conditioned by the ſaid *Philip* and the reſt of the Gentlemen above named, that they ſhall not leave us, untill we be ſafely delivered over unto the hands of ſuch a guard,

or

or convoy, as ſhall be ſent to receive us by the Governour of *Drogheda*, and that we may be delivered over unto the hands of the ſaid guard in love and amitie, and depart ſo each from the other.

2. We ſhall have with us the Kings Majeſties armes, together with all Carrabins, Petronels, Piſtols, Horſmens-Peeces, Bandeliers, Swords, Rapiers, Daggers, Horſes, with all the Horſe furniture belonging to them, partiſans, Holberts, and that the Souldiers belonging to Sir *Francis Hamilton* ſhall march away with Drums beating, Colours flying, and Bullets in their mouthes.

3. Thirdly, we are to have proviſion provided for us, upon our way, which we are to march through for our ready moneys, the guard mentioned are to goe upon their owne charge.

4. Fourthly, we will be ready to depart by Wedneſday the 15. of June 1642. and in the meane time Horſes and carriage is to be provided for us for tranſporting of our baggage and ſicke people, if any ſhall happen to be at that time, either to be bought or hired for our ready money.

5. Fifthly, that Maſter *William Bedell* and his wife, *Alexander Clogie*, Maſter *Bagſhaw* and his Familie, *Robert Johnſon*, together with all ſuch Britiſh as are remaining within the County of *Cavan*, ſhall be ſent hither to goe along with the ſaid Sir *Francis Hamilton*, and that they may have liberty to carry with them all ſuch bag or baggage as they have to carry.

6. Sixthly, that ſuch poore men and women that are not able to goe along with us, ſhall have a ſafe quarter to ſtay and remaine in the Countrey, and that proviſion ſhall be made for them, which unto Chriſtianitie appertaineth.

7. Seaventhly, that after both Caſtles, *viz.* *Kylagh* and *Crohan* ſhall be ſurrendred, that then *Philip mac Hugh Relie*, and the reſt of the Gentlemen firſt named, ſhall take care that the ſaid Caſtles ſhall

not be defaced, burnt, or demolished, but preserved for the Kings Majesties use, and for the use of the right owners thereof, and that the like care shall be had for preserving the Gardens and Orchards belonging to both Castles.

8, Eighthly, that such people in both Castles, that shall desire to travell to any part of this Kingdome, shall be allowed so to doe, and shall have Passes given them for their safe travelling from one or other of authoritie within this Countie, and in the said Passes it may be desired, that the Gentlemen of such Counties in which they are to passe through may give them Passes for their safe travelling unto such places as they shall desire to rest and remaine in.

9. Ninthly, it is further agreed upon betweene both parties, that an authenticke Copie of this agreement sealed and signed by the said *Philip mac Hugh, Mac Shan Relie*, and the rest of the Gentlemen first named, shall be sent to *Droghedah* to the Governour or chiefe Commander there, to the end the said Governour may send a Certificate under his hand and seale, to be delivered unto Sir *Francis Hamilton*, and the rest of his Companie ten or twelve miles from *Drogheda*, for the securitie of both parties, and the due performance of this agreement, that there may be a certaine place appointed by the said Governour, where the said Sir *Francis* and his Companie shall be received without any danger or affront unto such as shall convoy them.

10, Lastly, for the due and true performance of this agreement, and every point therein contained, both parties shall make choyce of the most principall Gentlemen on either side to sweare that they will truly and faithfully performe according to this agreement, and every point therein contained, and likewise set their hands and seales the day and yeere above written,

Philip Relie, Edmond Rely, Philip Rely, Mulmore O Rely, Hugh Rely, John Rely, Philip Rely, Iames Neugent, R. A. Owen Rourke, Edmond Rely, Perall Rely, Charles mac Gauran, Daniel mac Gauran, Iohn mac Kernan, Conner Rely, Mulmore Relie, Turlagh Rebel

These

These Articles being signed, sealed, and sworne unto by the subscribers, upon the 15. of *June*, there came out of the Castle of *Kylagh*, Sir *Francis Hamilton* with about 800. men, women and children, of whom there were two hundred and thirtie fighting men. Out of *Croban* with the Lady *Craig* there came about foure hundred of all sorts, and of them, one hundred being serviceable men. and with these there were ten Ministers, among whom Master *Price*, one of good abilities, diligent in his Calling, and forward in that service, doth merit especiall respects, besides those that came out of those Castles, there were 140. others, who from other parts of the Countrey joyned themselves unto them according as in the Articles Sir *Francis* had provided for them.

These marched away according to the Agreement, with matches burning, Bandeleires full, Drums beating, and Colours flying; bringing with them Armes for 95. men. Sir *Francis* had in a Trunke one firkin of Powder which was not discovered, leaving with the enemy only 20. pounds, for to colour it. In both Castles there were left about ninetie Peeces great and small, and many Pikes, most whereof had beene recovered from the Enemy.

These 1349 of all sorts were by *Philip Mac Hugh Rely*, with the rest of the mentioned in the Articles for so doing, and a Guard of seven hundred Souldiers conducted towards *Dreghedah*, they made an Halt about fourteen miles from the Town, expecting an answer from the Governour Sir *Henry Tichbourne*, who about a mile from *Slane*, and eight miles from *Dreghedah* met them with two Troops, and three hundred Foot, the grosse of both parts kept aloof, there being an hundred chosen out of each for to deliver and receive: all which was punctually observed on both sides.

From *Dreghedah*, the said ten Ministers, and above 1000 poore besides the poore Souldiers, repaired to *Dublin* where now they are expecting conveniency of passage into *England*, if they may not be relieved there.

Sir *Francis Hamilton*, the *Lords Justices, and Councell of Ireland*, have recommended to the *right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for the Irish affaires*, having for the present listed 100 of his own men under his command in the Army; Hee deserving all encouragement

and

and reſpects both for his prudence and forwardneſſe in the publicke ſervice, and his charity to the poor deſpoiled *Britiſh*, whom not only he relieved in his Caſtle, but laid out great ſummes for clothing and feeding them in their going away.

This is the ſubſtance of all the chief paſſages of the Rebellion in the County of *Cavan*, from the 23 of *October* 1641, untill *June* 15, 1642, paſſing by Captain *Culmes* attempt for recovering the Caſtle of *Cloghouter*, with other paſſages, which with a more full diſcourſe of what hath been formerly but briefly ſet forth, and the continuation thereof, I refer to what I ſhall hereafter (God willing) ſet forth of *the proceedings of the whole warre in* Ireland.

In the name of the holy Trinitie, the Father, Son, and the holy Ghoſt, *Amen.*

Acts agreed upon, ordained, and concluded in the generall Congregation held at Kilkenny, *the* 10. 11. *and* 13. *dayes of May*, 1642. *by thoſe Prelates whoſe names are ſubſcribed; The Proctors of ſuch other Prelates as then were abſent, being preſent together with the Superiours of the Regulars, and many other dignitaries and learned men, aſwell in divine, as alſo in the common law, with divers Paſtors and others of the Catholique Clergie of all* Ireland, *whoſe names are likewiſe hereafter ſet downe.*

1. WHereas the Warre which now in *Ireland*, the Catholiques doe maintaine againſt Sectaries, and chiefly againſt Puritans, for the defence of the Catholique Religion, for the maintenance of the Prerogative and Royall rights of our gracious King *Charles*, for our gracious Queene, ſo unworthily abuſed by the Puritans, for the honour, ſafetie, and health of their royall iſſue, for to avert and refraine the injuries done unto them, for the conſervation of the juſt, and lawfull ſafegards, liberties and rights of *Ireland* and laſtly for the defence of their owne lives, fortunes, lands and poſſeſſions. Whereas I ſaid this warre is by the Ca-

Catholiques undertaken for the aforeſaid cauſes againſt unlawfull uſurpers, oppreſſors and their enemies, chiefly Puritans. And that hereof we are enformed aſwell by divers and true Remonſtrances of divers Provinces, Counties and Noblemen, as alſo by the unanimous conſent and agreement of almoſt the whole Kingdome in this warre and union. We therefore declare that warre openly Catholique to be lawfull and juſt, in which warre, if ſome of the Catholiques be found to proceed out of ſome particular and unjuſt title, covetouſneſſe, cruelty, revenge or hatred, or any ſuch unlawfull private intentions. We declare them therein grievouſly to ſinne, and therefore worthy to be puniſhed and refrained with Eccleſiaſticall cenſures (if adviſed thereof) they doe not amend.

2. Whereas the adverſaries doe ſpread divers rumours, doe write divers Letters, and under the Kings name doe print Proclamations, which are not the Kings, by which meanes divers plots and dangers may enſue unto our Nation; Wee therefore to ſtop the way of untruth and forgeries of the Politicall adverſaries doe will and command, that no ſuch rumours, Letters, or Proclamations may have place, or beliefe, untill it be knowne in a Nationall Councell, whether they truly proceeded from the King, left to his owne freedome, and untill the Agents of this Kingdome hereafter to be appointed by a Nationall Councell, have free paſſage to his Majeſtie, whereby the Kingdome may be certainly enformed of his Majeſties intention and will.

3. Whereas no Family, Citie, Common-wealth, much leſſe any Kingdome may ſtand without union and concord, without which this Kingdome for the preſent ſtandeth in moſt danger. We thinke it therefore neceſſary that all Iriſh Peeres, Magiſtrates, Noblemen, Cities and Provinces, may be tyed together with the holy bond of Vnion and Concord, and that they frame an oath of Vnion and agreement which they ſhall devoutly and Chriſtianly take, and faithfully obſerve. And for the conſervation and exerciſe of this Vnion, We have thought fit to ordaine the enſuing points.

4. We ſtraightly command all our inferiour, aſwell Churchmen as Laymen to make no diſtinction at all between the old and ancient Iriſh, and no Alienation, comparison or difference between Provinces, Cities, Towns, or Families, and laſtly, not to begin, or forward

any emulations or comparisons whatsoever.

5. That in every Province of *Ireland* there be a Councell made up both of Clergy and Nobility in which Councell shall bee so many persons, at least as are Counties in the Province, and out of every City or notable Towne two persons.

6. Let one generall Councell of the whole Kingdome be made both of the Clergy Nobility, Cities, and notable Townes. in which Councell there shall be three out of every Province, and out of every City one, or where Cities are not, out of the chiefest Townes. To this Councell the Provinciall Councells shall have subordination, and from thence to it may be appealed, untill this Nationall Councell have opportunity to sit together; Againe, if any thing of great importance doe occurre, or be conceived in one Province, which by a negative Vote is rejected in the Councell of one Province. Let it be sent to the Councels of other Provinces; except it be such a matter as cannot be delayed, and which doth not pertaine to the Weale publick of the other Provinces.

7. Embassage sent from one Province to forraigne Nations shall be held as made from the rest of the Provinces, and the fruit or benefit thereof shall be imparted, and divided between the Provinces and Cities which have more need thereof, chiefly such helpes and fruits, as proceed from the bountifull liberalitie of forraigne Princes states. Prelates or others whatsoever, provided alwayes that the charges and damage be proportionably recompenced.

8. If there be any Province which may not conveniently send Embassage from it selfe unto forraigne Nations, let it signifie it to another Province, which may conveniently supply it, and ought in regard of their union to supply it according to the instructions sent from the other Provinces concerning the place, and Princes to which they would have their Embassage employed.

9. Let a faithfull Inventory be made in every Province of the murthers, burnings, and other cruelties, which are commited by the Puritan enemies, with a cotation of the place, day, cause, manner and persons, and other circumstances subscribed by one of publick authority.

10. In every Parish, let a faithfull and sworne Messenger be appointed, whereby such cruelties, and other affaires may bee written and

and ſent to the neighbouring places, and likewiſe from one Province to another; Let ſuch things be written for the comfort, inſtruction, and carefulneſſe of the People.

11. Great men taken priſoners in one Province, may not be ſet at liberty for any price, prayers, or exchange, without the conſent of the Prelats and Nobility of the other Province united, and let every Province be carefull of the Liberties of ſuch Priſoners as are from the other Provinces, as farre as it conveniently may.

12. If any one ſtubborne or dangerous be found in one Province, County or Towne, Let him be ſent to another Province, County or Towne where he may be ſafely kept, and (with leſſe danger, or loſſe of others) remaine.

13. Whoſoever ſhall be declared in one County or Province, adverſary or traytour of this cauſe and country ſhall likewiſe be held, and puniſhed in other Counties and Provinces where he ſhall bee found, and ſuch as receive or favour him, or be his meſſengers knowing his miſdemeanour ſhall be lyable to ſuch puniſhment as the traytour himſelfe.

14. Wee command and ordaine as a maine point pertaining to this Vnion, that no Province, County, City, Towne or perſon whatſoever ſhall demand peace, or ſubmit himſelfe to the enemies without the conſent of the generall Councell of the whole Kingdome, and that ender paine of Excommunication to be incurred *ipſo facto*, and for further force of this Statute to be obſerved; Wee will that in every Province a firme oath be taken by the Peeres, Nobility, Corporations, and commonalty of every Province, and thereupon a Publicke and authenticall Inſtrument be made; And that every Province doe ſend into every other Province, an Inſtrument ſubſcribed with the proper hands of ſuch as have taken this oath, for the aſſurance of their oaths and whoſoever ſhall refuſe to take this oath let him bee held as adverſary of the common cauſe, and of the Kingdome, and let him be puniſhed, as ſuch as hereafter ſhall be declared, except he be excuſed for the reaſons hereafter to be ſet downe.

15. The ordinaries of every place, The preachers confeſſors paſh prieſts and other Churchmen ſhall indeavour to ſee perfect peace and charity obſerved betweene Provinces, Countics, Cities, and families, as the obligation of this vnion requireth

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16. Such goods aſwell moveable as vnmoveable pertaining to Catholiques as were recovered from the enemyes by this preſent war ſhall be reſtored to their former owners, Provided that ſuch neceſſary and reſonable charges ſhall be paid, as the next generall or Provinciall Councell or Committees of the County where the parties dwell, ſhall decree.

17. Whereas diverſe perſons doe diverſly carry themſelves towards this cauſe, ſome with helpes and ſupplies doe aſſiſt the adverſaries others with victualls and armes, others with their advice and authority ſupporting as it weare the contrary cauſe, ſome alſo as newters behaving themſelves, and others laſtly neglecting their oath doe forſake the Catholique union and cauſe. Wee doe therefore declare and iudge all and every ſuch as forſake this union, doe fight for our enemies accompany them in warr, defend or in any other way aſſiſt them as giving them weapons, victuals, councell, or favour to be excomunicated and by theſe preſents doe excommunicate them; Provided that this preſent Decree ſhall be firſt publiſhed in every Dioceſſe reſpectively, and having received admonition before hand which ſhall ſupply the treble admonition otherwiſe requiſite, as wee doe hereby declare, ſo it be made in a place where it may eaſily come to the knowledge of thoſe whom it toucheth, but as touching the iudgement and puniſhment of the Newters wee leave it to the ordinaries of every place reſpectively, ſo that the ordinaries themſelues be not contrary to the iudgement and opinion of this Congregation, in which cauſe, we Commit power to the Metropolitans or Archbiſhops to proceed againſt ſuch ordinaries according to the common courſe of law wherein they are to be very careſull and ſpeedy, and if the Metropolitans be found herein careleſſe or guilty, let them be lyable to ſuch puniſhment as is ordained by the holy Canons and let them be accuſed to the Sea Apoſtolique.

18. Wee ordaine and Decree that all and every ſuch as from the begining of this preſent warr have invaded the poſſeſſions of goods aſwell moveable as unmoveable, ſpirituall, or temporall of any Catholique whether Iriſh or Engliſh, or alſo of any Iriſh Proteſtant being not adverſarie of this cauſe, And doe detaine any ſuch goods ſhall be Excomunicated as by this preſent Decree wee doe excomunicate them if admoniſhed they doe not amend and with the

the like cenſure wee doe bind ſuch as henceforward ſhall invade or detaine ſuch goodes, and not only them, but alſo all and every ſuch as ſhall keepe lands or poſſeſſions againſt publique authority as alſo ſuch as favour or aſſiſt them therein. And we declare involued in this cenſure all and every of them who directly or indirectly hinder or forbid to pay their due rents unto ſuch as have poſſeſſed the ſaid lands from the begining of this warr and ſuch like wise as with out the Lycente of ſuch poſſeſſors doe take or exort rents or equivalent payment from the tenants of ſuch poſſeſſors under colour of paying ſouldiers therewith or otherwiſe

19. We command all and every Churchmen aſwell ſecular as regular not to heare the Confeſſions of the aforeſaid excommunicated perſons, nor to adminiſter unto them the holy Sacraments under paine of Excommunication *ipſo facto*.

20. We will and declare all thoſe that murther, diſmember, or grievouſly ſtrike, all theeves, unlawfull ſpoylers, robbers of any goods, extortors, together with all ſuch as favour, receive, or any wayes aſſiſt them, to be excommunicated, and ſo to remaine, untill they compleatly amend and ſatisfie no leſſe then if they were namely proclaimed, excommunicated, and for ſatisfaction of ſuch crimes hitherto committed to be enjoyned, wee leave to the diſcretion of the ordinaries and confeſſors, how to abſolve them.

21. Tradeſmen for making weapons or powder brought into this Countrey, or hereafter to be brought in, ſhall be free from all taxations and cuſtomes; as alſo all Merchants, as ſhall tranſport into this Countrey, ſuch wares as are profitable for the Catholique cauſe, as Armes and Powder, may lawfully traffique without paying any Cuſtome, for commodities brought out of this Kingdome, or tranſported hither of that kind, and let this be proclaimed in all Provinces, Cities and Townes.

22. Wee thinke it convenient, that in the next naturall Congregation, ſome be appointed out of the Nobility, and Clergy as Embaſſadours to be ſent in the behalfe of the whole Kingdome, unto the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, to the Emperour and his Holineſſe, and thoſe to be of the Church Prelats, or one of the Nobility and a Lawyer.

23. Wee will and ordaine, that Ordinaries, Dignitaries, and

other Proprietors of Church livings, with the assistance of the Colonel, or some other prime Gentleman of the County, Barony, or Parish, a the Ordinarie, and Dignitaries, or Proprietors shall appoint, doe set unto Tenants, the lands, houses, tenements, and tithes, and other Church livings, and let competent means be appointed for the maintenance of the said Ordinaries, Dignataries and Proprietors, and the rest to be appointed for the souldiers untill it bee otherwise ordained.

24. Collectors and receivers of the Rents of Church-livings, shall be appointed by the Ordinaries, with the consent of the Proprietors in the presence of the chiefest Gentlemen of every County, Baronry, or Parish respectively.

25. The ordinaries and other proprietors of Church livings may take unto themselves the houses, tenements and other Church Goods pertaining unto their respective titles, with obligations to pay proportionable rent unto the Souldiers as aforesaid, or his payment of their owne competent maintenance and lett the houses, tenements, and other Church goodes be taken from the Catholiques, who heretofore had them as tenements or otherwise.

26. It is Committed to the will and disposition of the ordinarie whether and when to enter into the Churches and celebrate Masse therein we commande all and every the generall Colonells, Captains and other officers of our Catholique army to whom it appertaineth that they severally punish all transgressers of our aforesaid Command touching Murtherers, Maymers, Strikers, Theeves, Robbers, and if they faile therein we command the parish Priests, Curats or Chaplines, respectively to declare them iterdicted and that they shall be excomunicated if they cause not due satisfaction to bee made unto the Common-wealth, and the party offended. And this the Parish Priests, or Chaplaines shall observe under paine of Excommunication of sentence given *ipso facto*.

27. To the end that these Acts Propositions, and Ordinances may have more happy successe; We thought it fitting to have recourse unto God Almighty by Prayers, Fastings and Alms We therefore will pray and as far as it is needfull do cõmand that every Priest as well Secular, as Regular doe celebrate one Masse a week, and that all Laymen doe fast upon Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in one weeke,

and

and thence forward one day a week, and that upon Wedneſday, or Saturday, as long as the Ordinary ſhall pleaſe, and that they pray heartily unto God for the proſperous ſucceſſe of this our Catholike War, for which they ſhall gain ſo many dayes indulgences, as every Prelate ſhall publiſh in your ſeverall Dioceſſe reſpectively after the Faſt of the aforeſaid three days in one Weeke, having firſt confeſſed, and received the bleſſed Sacrament, and beſtowed ſome almes to this effect.

28 In every Regiment of Souldiers Let there be appointed at leaſt two Confeſſors, and one Preacher, to be named by the Ordinaries and by the Superiours of the Regulars, whoſe competent maynte-nance we commend and command to every Colonell, in their reſpe-ctive Regiments. And to the end that all thoſe Ordinances and Sta-tutes may effectually be put in execution, we will and decree that all Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Apoſtolicall Vicars and Regular Superiours, aſwell here preſent as abſent, may be very ſerious and carefull of the execution of the aforeſaid, as they tender not to incur diſpleaſure, wrath, and revenge, and herewith we charge their Conſciences.

29 Moreover, We pray and require, all Noblemen, Magiſtrates, and all other Marſhall Commanders, that with their helps and Se-cular forces, they aſſiſt and ſet forward in execution, the aforeſaid Statutes in their ſeverall Precincts reſpectively as often as it ſhall be needfull; If in any of the aforeſaid Statutes any doubt or difficulty may by chance ariſe, the explication thereof wee reſerve to the Me-tropolitans in every Province reſpectively, and to the Biſhops in eve-ry their Dioceſſe, ſuch of them as are no way contrary to this cauſe, no other perſon may preſume to expound the aforeſaid difficulties.

Hæc dicta, acta ordinata & ſtatuta, ſubſcripta erant nominibus ſe-quentium Prælatorum.

All thoſe Judgments, Sayings, Acts, and Covenants, We ſubmit to the judgment of the See Apoſtolick.

Hugo Archiepiſcopus Armachanus.
Thomas Archiepiſcopus Caſſelenſis.
Malachius Archiepiſcopus Guamenſis.

Da-

David Episcopus Osorensium.
Frater Baxius Episcopus Elphynensum.
Frater Patricius Episcopus Woterferden. & Lysmoren.
Frater Rochus Episcopus Kildaren.
Joannes Electus Clunfarten.
Emerus Electus Dunen. & Conoren,
Frater Josephus Everard, Procurator Archiepiscopi Dublinens.
Doctor Joannes Creagh Procurator Episcopus Lymeriten.
David Bourck & Willielmus O Connell Procurator Episcopi Imolacen.
Donatus O Tearnan Procurator Episcopi Laonen.
Doctor Dionysius Hartti Decanus Laonensis.
Doctor Michael Hacket Vicom. gener. Waterforden.
Gulielmus Devocer Vic. gener. Fernesen.
Thomas Roch Vicar. Generalis Ossoren.
Frater Lucas Archer Abbas Sancta Crucis.
Frater Anthonius de Rosario Ord. prad. Vicar. pro Provincial.
Robertus Nugent societas Jesu in Heb.
Frater Thadeus Connoldus Aug. Provinc.
Joannes Waremige Decanus Lymlicem.
Frater Patricius Darcye Guardianum Dublruens.
Frater Thomas Strange Guardianum Waterford.
Frater Joseph Lawlton, Prior Kilkenny.
Frater Tho. Tearnon Guard. de Dundalk.
Frater Joannes Reyly Guard Kilkennige.
Frater Baxius Egannis Guard Butrevant.
Jordanus Boork Archiedecanus Lymericensis.

FINIS.

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KING

CHARLES

HIS

LETTER

TO THE

GREAT TURK;

The High and Mighty Emperour

SULTAN MORAT HAN:

Chiefe Lord and Commander of the *Ottoman* Kingdom, Sole and Supream Monarch of the *Eastern Empire.*

LONDON:
Printed for *H. Blunon. August* 11. 1642.

CHARLES,

By the grace of the moſt High God, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*; Defender of the Faith, &c.

To the High and Mighty Emperour, Sultan Morat Han; *Chief Lord and Commander of the* Ottoman *Kingdome*, *and ſole and Supream Monarch of the Eaſtern Empire:*

SENDETH GREETING.

WE underſtand by Our Embaſſadour Reſident with You, with how much Honour and reſpect, the death of Our dear Lord and Father (of ever glorious memory) was condoled at your Imperiall

Port: and if the ſignification thereof, and of Our peaceable ſucceſſion to theſe Crownes, have not in all this time come unto you immediately from Our ſelf, it hath not been through any default of Our affection, or reſpect to You, but many important affairs upon *Our* firſt Acceſs, and the dangerous troubles wherewith *Our* City of *London* and many other principall parts of Our Kingdome have been (and at this time are) infected with; have diverted Us, and forced Us to defer theſe offices longer than We intended, or deſired; and as we hope You will, for theſe important Reaſons, readily and freely excuſe thoſe Omiſſions which in ſo weighty occaſions may well be diſpenſed withall.

So We pray You to be aſſured, that We are deſirous that the Amitie which hath of long time been held between our Predeceſſors, may be renewed, continued, and confirmed: And the entercourſe of Trade between Our Subjects and Yours be maintained and preſerved, for the good of both

Our

Our Kingdomes and People, and to give You the better proofe of Our Reall and ſincere intentions therein; We have ratified, and do ratifie the Treaty made by Sir *Thomas Rowe* in that Your Imperiall Port, with Your Subjects of *Algier* and *Tunis*: duly to obſerve the Articles of that Treaty in all reſpects towards Our Subjects. We do likewiſe recommend unto You, and pray You in conformitie to Our deſire of friendſhip and good correſpondencie, to confirm and ratifie thoſe priviledges which have been formerly granted by your Predeceſſors to Our Merchants, and to inlarge the ſame according to preſent occaſions, as ſhall be moſt convenient for the good of both Our Kingdomes; which as We will ſtudie by all good means to keep up in full force, and moſt advantagious execution; So We may not omit to repreſent unto You, the Grievances of Our Subjects, when they are moſt unjuſtly wronged contrary to the Capitulations between Us, and We preſume, coutrary to Your knowledg and con-

That which we have now to deſire your Juſtice in: is,

Firſt, for extream injuries done by inferiour Officers, and eſpecially by one *Morat Chaus*, a Cuſtomer of that Port, who hath not onely broken, but alſo ſcorned and contemned the Articles of the Capitulations; and that in the *Publik Divan*, to your diſhonour, and to the great prejudice of our Merchants:

Secondly, an open injuſtice done to our Subjects in *Algier*, wherein our *Engliſh* Conſul, and the reſt of our Nation, were reſtrained of their Libertie, their goods ſeized upon, and forced to pay great ſummes of money, contrary to Juſtice, and the direct tearmes of the treaty; But if while We on our behalf do obſerve the Capitulation and all good tearmes of friendſhip; ſuch mean perſons as Cuſtomers and other Officers, be ſuffered and born out in theſe unjuſt Inſolencies and oppreſſions upon Our Subjects, in a manifeſt breach of the Capitulations.

We

We cannot ſhut our eares againſt the Petitions of our Subjects, but muſt according to their Humble Suit give Order to withdraw their Perſons and Eſtates from ſuch dangers, wrongs, and injuſtice; unleſſe upon this our Inſtance, we finde a ſpeedy redreſſe and exemplary puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch as have, or ſhall tranſgreſſe the Rules of Juſtice, and the Amitie and Contract between Us: Which, We recommend to your judgement and care, as a matter wherein the welfare of Our and Your people and Countries is intereſſed.

We do further particularly pray You, to give expreſſe Order for the upholding and maintaining of the Article of Priviledge, for the paying but only of one Cuſtome within all the Ports under Your Jurisdiction; with free libertie to export any Commodity (having once paid Cuſtome) without further Charge: And that Our Subjects be not exacted upon contrary to that priviledge.

The further particulars of Our Subjects grievan-

grievances, and what else: We desire to be negotiated with You, We have given in Charge to Our *Embassadour*: to whom We pray you to give credit, and to return Us full Answer to the severall points of this Our Letter: Wherein if You shall give relief to our Subjects, and punish those that violate the Capitulation; We shall reserve it as a singular Testimony of Your Justice, Your good intentions towards Us, Your constancie in your Contracts, and Your Judgement in what hath Relation to the good of Your own Dominions: And We shall be ready to answer that Relation of Yours, in whatsoever shall rest on Our parts to perform.

Dated the first of August.

FINIS.

O

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SOME OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING IEALOUSIES BETWEENE KING and PARLIAMENT,

With their causes and cures.

Raptim Scripta

LONDON.
Printed in the yeare 1642.

Raptim Scripta

OCCASIONALL RESULTS OR EMERGENCIES.

1. *The Jealousie.*

THere is a Reciprocall Jealousie, which is the spring to all these distempers. I know there are many other causes which are looked at, but they are subordinate, not Supreame. This jealousie is both in King and Parliament, the first suspects to much change in Religion, and state on the right hand, the last feares too much alteration on the left, and hence it is that the designes of both flew into this channell of prevention and anticipation in the Acts of the Militia, and Commission of Array; now these preventions are misinterpreted and misrepresented, but not on the same grounds nor in the same degrees, the King calls their preventions preparations to Warre, and beginnings of hostility, they recriminate not lesse to him, and while they skirmish and embroyle their pens thus in Remonstrances and Declarations, they raise such a dust and Clouds of scruples and doubts, as troubles the eyes of common judgments, who being prin-

cipled towards both, are desirous to decline neither, now for the Parliament they being all Men of publique ingagements and fortunes in the Common-wealth, how is it probable their preparations should be hostile or offensive; For that were to be destructive to the things, they desire to preserve and can rationall reason be thus intoxicated? and universall judgement thus reversed.

The mistaken Grievance.

THE Kingdom being much exhausted by the Ministers to the Prerogative and the Parliament taking the administration at rebound and at second hand, it comes to passe that every legall and Parliamentary imposition weighes as heavy as any arbitrary or illegall payment, so as the Parliament, to their weake disadvantage, were forced to commit a grievance in redressing them, and the commonalty are so insensible heere, that they measure all Legallity and privilege by their present expense. So as their is no more remaining but that hereafter the grand Delinquents, both in Court & State be confiscated for the publike ease and advantage.

A Conjecture, on the Successe of the present Preparation by the Parliament.

WHat shall hinder the successe, I demand in a diligent inquiry.

Shall any Popular uncertainty? No.

For though the Spirits of a multitude be Volitant and revolting, yet that divine concurrence which hath quickened them already, can as easily fix preserve and continue them; and the same power, can enlarge it selfe, and bring in more at pleasure, being confined to no number, time, or other circumstance

cumſtance, and it is alwayes in holy Story that Heaven never drawes ſo many Forces into the field as at Evenihg, and his aſſiſtance is ever lat. and yet ever ſoone enough.

Shall our Sinnes? *No.*

For if the decree find out a number of righteous proportionable to it ſelfe, though not to the unrighteous, (who are ever too many) yet ſuch numaber ſhall ſtop a judgement, and perſwade Juſtice; as appeares in Gods diſcourſe with *Abraham*. now our number is encreaſed in the Kingdome, Reformation hath got ground both in State, and Parliament, and the returne of our Conſciencious Brethren, ſtrengthens the Spirituall force too.

Shall want of preparations? *No.*

Haye wee not the Grand advantages of power in our hands the Navy and Magazine of the *Kingdome*, which are, in the power and vertue of God,) ſtrong habilliments, are not the Forces too of ſuch whom their owne inclinations preſſe to the Warre, not violenced by a Royall authority, and are not thoſe motions ever ſtrongeſt and longeſt which are moſt naturall and intrinſick.

Shall feare of ſucceſſe? *No.*

Are not our principles divine and ſound, Royall and Legall, did our brethren of *Scotland* faile of their accompliſhment, and are wee not as conſanguineous with them in our maximes, as our times and conſtitution of State will allow: and are they not Nationally covenanted in our proſperity and ruine,

Shall any feare of the former conqueſt of Prerogatives? *No.*

FOr they that can wiſely diſcerne times and things, knows that the prerogative hath paſſed its meridian in moſt chriſtian States.

The Truſt.

MEe thinks the miſeries of that kingdom of *Ireland* ſhould Arbitrate the differences of this, and wee ſhould not ſpend time now in blowing our own ſparkes, for quenching our Neighbours fire. the King ſaies the Parliament will looſe that Kingdom for not complying, and ſuch a complying as he propounds, may looſe this, but if *Ireland* may be ſaved on a fiduciary condition, that is if the King will but truſt with them their deſires, and demands, and ſure it is but juſt and retaliable to truſt thoſe a while, who have for ſo many Yeares repoſed all in the hands of his Prerogative, nor have any former Delinquencies rendred them yet uncapable, nor hath yet prerogative or Libertie miſcarried in their truſts, and therefore ſuch earely ſuſpicions, is like a trial and arrainment before a Crime or Tranſgreſsion.

The Neceſſary Trouble.

IT is no wonder if the univerſall corruptions of times and manners bring with it no little trouble and commotion in the redreſſe. It is impoſsible that the removal of rivetted evill ſhould be without ſome diſturbance, are Diſeaſes cured without ſtrong operations? are their any cleanſings and defections without ſome motion? and thoſe that had rather enjoy their former condition, how bad-ſoever without Reformation with ſome trouble are ſuch flat and drowſie Spirits, as are looth to riſe from their pillow, they have ſlept on ſo long, though to have it better compoſed for their eaſe heereafter.

The Parliament reſcued.

They ſay all things are worſe ſince Parliaments began, Laws and Religion more out of order and nothing done: what an Engine is

gine is this? to hold their hands, and aske why they worke not to ſtand in their way and aske why they goe not on? but however in all ſeaſons of agitations, and in the inteſtine of Reformations, the legiſlatiue power is alittle withdrawn, and retired into advices and counſells, and the adminiſtrations is then of neceſſitie more incompleate: We know when *Moſes* withdrew to the Mount to receive Laws, the people were even then out of order, and began to murmur.

The danger of Preparations both Royall, and Parliamentary.

THe King raiſes force, and the Parliament, and both for ſecuring the Kingdom; and yet ſuch is the nature of theſe preparations, as they appeare with no leſſe danger then ſecurity, and we feare we may periſh by the meanes that preſerves us: Like the patient who tooke ſo much on the Cordiall, till he made his remedy his diſeaſe; but what a condition are we in, when while we do not prepare, we are in danger, and while we doe, we create one; for how eaſie it is to perſwade a people into that which they come prepared for, and how ſoone may the Trumpet miſtake, betwixt the accent of peace and War: and if the ſword be once drawn, I ſcarce ever knew it ſo wiſe and moderate, as to diſtinguiſh betwixt deſtruction and vindication; betwixt ruine and right.

No Warre.

THe King protects for his rights and the Parliaments, and the Parliament for his and their own, and for this defence are all preparations, ſo as I conceive, they are agreed and know not; this is *Accommodation* in a riddle, and *Paſſification* in a miſt, and providence ſeemes to over-rule them into union and confederation whether they will or noe, ſo that if any hoſtility

ſpring

ſpring from this, it muſt needs prove againſt a third party, who as the enemy and incendiary to both, and reſerued for diſcovery in due time, and for their preparation.

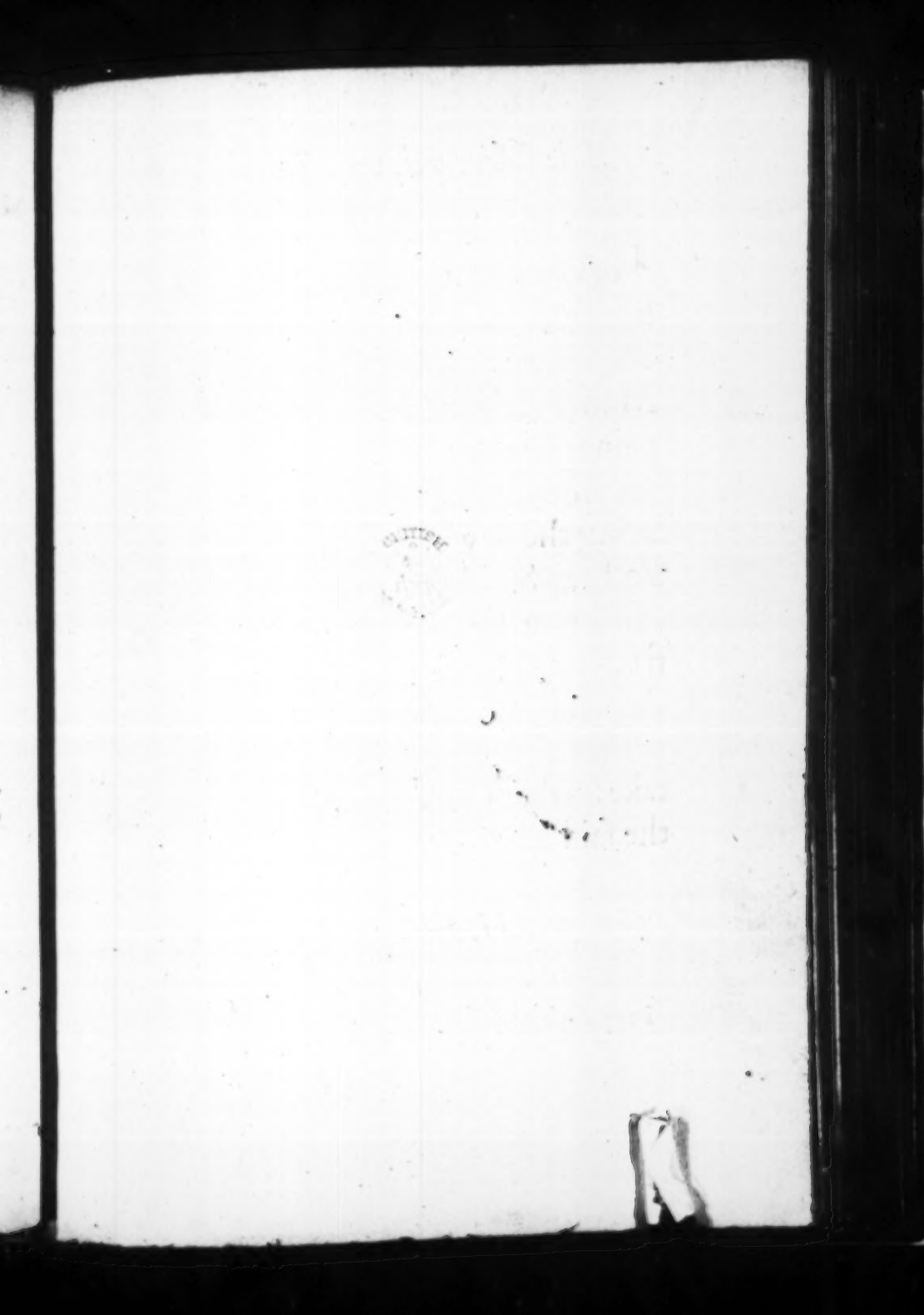
Nor are the combuſtions of theſe times in ſuch full parralell to the former: Formerly the Peerage and Prerogative was the contending parts, now it is more univerſall, a whole Parliament and a Prerogative, before it was only Civill liberties and priviledges, now it is Spirituall and Divine, which enriches the diſtemper, and engages Heaven more in the Vindication.

Adde to this, the ſucceſſe of the Lord of *Warwick* in the Fleete, that of Sir *John Hotham* in Hull, the two principalls and ſtrengths, *rebus ſic ſtantibus*; and this is arguing *a minore ad majus*, from leſſer ſucceſſe to a larger, from providence in the abridgement, to prouidence in a volume.

Shall the Revolting and departing of peeres? No,

For the peers are not now of ſuch power as formerly, it being the politicy of later princes to caſt ſo much ſhadow on them as ſhould keepe them coole from inflaming into the diſtemper of their predeceſſors, and we know too, *Gideons* ſucceſſe began not to enlarge, till his number began to goe leſſe.

FINIS.



Die Mercurii, 27°. Julii. 1642.

IT is this day Ordered by the Houſe of Commons now aſſembled in *Parliament*, that Sir *Chriſtopher Yelverton* doe return thankes from this Houſe, to Maſter *Edward Reynoldes*, for the great paines he tooke in his Sermon this day preached at the intreaty of this Houſe, being the day of publique and ſolemne Faſt, at S^t^. *Margarets* VVeſtminſter; And that he doe likewiſe intreate him from this Houſe to print his Sermon: And it is alſo ordered, that no man ſhall preſume to print it (till this Houſe doe take further Order herein) but whom the ſaid Maſter *Reynoldes* appoints.

H. Elſinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I appoint *Robert Boſtock* Stationer to print my Sermon.

Edward Reynoldes.

12

ISRAELS
PETITION
IN TIME OF TROUBLE.

A
SERMON PREACHED
In S^t. *Margarets* Church at *Weſt-minſter*, before the Honourable Houſe of Commons now aſſembled in *PARLIAMENT*.

AT THE LATE PUBlique and ſolemn Faſt, *July* 27. 1642.

By EDWARD REYNOLDES,
Rector of the Church of *Braunſton* in *Northamptonſhire*.

Publiſhed by Order of the ſaid Houſe.

August. 4th 11th
London Printed by *George Biſhop*, and *Robert White*, for *Robert Boſtock*, dwelling in *Pauls* Church-yard, at the Signe of the *Kings-Head*. 1642.

TO THE HONOURABLE HOUSE

Of Commons aſſembled in *PARLIAMENT.*

IN Obedience to your Commands, I here humbly preſent to your view What you were pleaſed with patience and readineſſe of affection lately to attend unto. I conſidered, that though the Choiceneſſe of the Auditory might require the exacteſt preparation: yet both the condition of the Times, and the nature of the duty did call upon us to lay aſide our Ornaments. And therefore I ſpake With ſuch plainneſſe, as might commend the matter delivered rather to the Conſcience of a Penitent, than to the fancy of a delicate hearer. The King of Nineveh Was a King as Well in his Sackcloth, as in his Robes: And the truth of God is indeed fuller of Majeſty When it is naked, than When adorned With the droſſe of any humane contribution, Which many times takes from it, but never addes any value unto it.

I looked upon you in your double Relation, both Common as Chriſtians, and ſpeciall, as men intruſted With the managing of thoſe arduous and moſt preſſing difficulties under Which this diſtempered Kingdome is now groaning.

And for the quickning of thoſe endeavours Which belong to you in both thoſe relations, I preſented you both With the bottome of a Nations unhappineſſe, Which is ſin; and With the top of their felicity, Which is, Gods free grace and favour: That by your ſerious cares to purge out the one, and to procure the other, you might, by Gods bleſſing on your Conſultations, diſpell that black tempeſt which hangs over this Kingdom, and reduce the face of things unto calmneſſe and ſerenity again.

When the Children ſtrugled together in the Womb of Rebekah, ſhee Was thereupon inquiſitive, If it be ſo, why am I thus? and ſhe addreſſed her ſelfe to God for a reſolution. Surely this Nation is become like the womb of Rebekah, the children thereof ſtrugling in their mothers belly together, and When God hath mercifully freed us from forraigne enemies, Gen. 25. 22.

Brethren are become enemies to brethren, *and by their enmities likely to teare and torment the bowels of their mother, and to ruine themselves.*

And what have we now to doe but to inquire the Cause *of these sad commotions,* why are we thus? *And surely the Cause is chiefely where the disease is,* within our selves. *We have beene like the wombe of* Rebekah, *a* Barren Nation, *not bringing forth the fruits of so many mercies, as God had filled us withall. So that now it is no wonder, if God cause us to be in paine within our owne bowels, and to feele the throwes,*
Hos.13.13. *and strugglings of a* Travelling woman, *ready to bring forth her owne Confusion, a* Benoni, *or an* Ichabod, *a sonne of* sorrow, *and of* Shame, *to this, hitherto so peaceable and flourishing a Kingdome.*

All that we can comfort our selves within these pangs and qualmes of distemper, is, that there are some Jacobs *amongst us, who insteed of*
Gen.32.24. supplanting *their brethren, will* wrestle and have power with God. *The*
Hos.12.3,4. *people have often* petitioned, *sometimes his* sacred Majestie, *sometimes these* Honourable Houses, *which are His great* Councell; *many overtures, and endeavours of* Accommodation *have been tendred, and yet we*
Esa.26.17,18. cry out in our pangs, and have, as it were, brought forth winde, neither have we wrought any deliverance in the earth.

I have here therefore presented a new Petition, *dictated and drawne up to our hands by Gods owne Spirit, unto which both* King *and* Parliament, Peeres, *and* Prophets, *and* People, *must all subscribe, and offer it with prostrate and penitent hearts unto him,* who standeth in the Con-
Psal.82.1. gregation of the mighty, and judgeth amongst the gods, *that hee would* take away all our iniquitie, *and* receive us into favour *againe, and accept of a* Covenant *of new obedience.*

And this Petition *God is pleased to anticipate with an answer of grace in the consequent parts of the Chapter from whence the Text is taken, and that particularly to every branch of the Petition.* He will take away iniquitie, *His* Anger *shall not punish, His* Love *shall* heale our backslidings, *the greatnesse of our sinns shall not hinder the freenesse of his Grace.* He will doe us good, *and give us* life, *by the* dew *of his grace reviving us: and* Glory, *cloathing us like the* Lilly *of the field, with the* beauty of holinesse: *and* stability, *fixing us by his Grace, as the* Cedars *of Libanon are fastened upon their* Rootes: *and* growth *or enlargement, as the* Branches spread *forth themselves, and continuall* vigor and plenty, *as the* Olive tree, *which is alwayes green and fruitfull, and*
2 Cor.2.14. *glorious* comforts *by the* sweete savour of the knowledge of God, *which like the* Spice trees *of* Libanon *shall diffuse a spirituall perfume upon the soules, and into the consciences of penitent converts.*

He

He will prevent us with the bleſſings of Safety, *as well as of* Sanctitie *and* Comfort, *we ſhall* under his ſhadow *finde ſhelter and protection from all our feares. Though like* Corn, *we be harrowed under the Clods, though like a lopped vine We ſeeme naked, and reduced to lowneſſe, though like cruſhed* grapes *we lie under heavy preſſures; yet he will revive, and enlarge, and comfort us againe, and When we are in our owne eyes* as fatherleſſe children, *He will ſet his eyes upon us as a* Tutor *and* Guardian, *He will heare* and obſerve, *and anſwer, and pitty us, enabling us to make good our Covenant by his grace, and cauſing the* fruits *of his loving kindneſſe to be* found upon us. *Thus God is pleaſed to borrow the various perfections of other things to adumbrate the united and cumulated mercies which he promiſeth unto a* Converting *and* Petitioning *people.*

You have the Petition *ſent you from God, and his* Anſwer *preventing you in all the members of it with the* bleſſings of goodneſſe. *I have nothing elſe to do, but to begge of you, and of all this great people whom you repreſent, the* Subſcription *of your hearts and lives unto this* Petition: *And to beg of God that he Would graciouſly incline the hearts of this Whole Kingdome rather to Wraſtle With him for a* bleſſing, *then to ſtruggle and conflict amongſt themſelves for a* Curſe. *With Which prayer I humbly conclude. Commending your perſons, and your Weighty affaires to his Grace, and reſt*

Your moſt humble ſervant in Chriſt,

From my Study in Braunſton. Auguſt the 8. 1642.

ED: REYNOLDES.

Iſraels Petition in time of Trouble.

A SERMON PREACHED AT the late Faſt before the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

HOSEA 14. 2.

Take with you words, and turne to the Lord, ſay unto him, Take away all iniquity and receive us graciouſly [or give good]

THe bleſſing of Ephraim, was according to his [a] name, *Fruitfulneſſe*. The fruitfulneſſe of *Earth*, a bough by a well, and the fruitfulnes of the *wombe*, and of the breaſts. *Gen* 49. 22. 25. Deut. 33. 13. 17. Contrary unto which two bleſſings wee finde in our Prophet two Iudgments threatned againſt him for his ſins. *chap.* 13. 15. 16. *Though he be fruitfull amongſt his brethren, an East wind ſhall come, the winde of the Lord ſhall come up from the wilderneſſe, and his ſpring ſhall become dry and his fountain ſhall be dried up: he ſhall ſpoile the treaſure of all pleaſant veſſels. Samaria ſhall become deſolate, for ſhe hath rebelled againſt her God: they ſhall fall by the Sword: their Infants ſhall be daſhed in pieces, and their women with child ſhall be ript up.* And throughout the [b] whole prophecie, (if you read and obſerve it) you will finde the Iudgements of God againſt Ephraim to bee expreſſed by [c] *weedes, emptines, barrennes, drynes* of rootes, of fruits, of branches, of ſprings, and by a curſe upon their Children, as on the other ſide the bleſſing here in this Chapter renewed

[a] Gen. 41. 52.

[b] Chap. 8. 7. 9. 2. 6. 16. 10. 1. 8. 11. 6.

[c] Chap. 9. 11. 14.

newed unto Ephraim repenting, are all expreſſed by Metaphors of *fruitfulneſſe. verſ.* 5, 6, 7.

From theſe two woefull Iudgements, againſt the fruitfulnes of their *ſprings*, and the fruitfulnes of their *wombes*, by the deſolations of a bloody ſword, our Prophet taketh occaſion once more for all, to awaken and drive them to a timely repentance, that ſo they may recover the bleſſing of their name, Ephraim may be Ephraim againe, a plentifull, a fruitfull, a flouriſhing people. That [d] when Gods Iudgements are in the Earth, they would then at leaſt ſet themſelves to learne righteouſnes, and [e] let the deſtruction of others be a terror to themſelves, that they may waſh their [f] feete in the bloud of the wicked.

Of all nations under heaven this Land of ours hath had the bleſſing of Ephraim upon it, fruitfulnes of the *Earth*, abundance of *plenty*: fruitfulnes of the *wombe*, abundance of *people*. But our miſery is, that the abundance of our ſins hath mightily outvied the abundance both of our plenty and of our people: ſinnes too too paralell to thoſe of Ephraim, if you will but read this Prophet and compare the behaviours of this nation with him. And this parity of ſins hath no doubt called upon God for a parity of Judgments. It is but a very little while ſince the Lord ſeemed to call for a *Northwinde*, as he doth here for an *Eaſtwinde*, two armies there met, ready to looke one another in the Face. But his heart turned, his repentings were kindled, hee would not give up Ephraim then. Hee ſeemes once more to bee drawing of a Sword, and having in vaine *hewed us by his Prophets* as he complaines, *chap.* 6. 5. to try whether hewing us by his Iudgmēts will work upon us. So that now, though I muſt read my text, *O Iſrael*, yet I muſt apply it, *O England, Returne unto the Lord thy God, for thou haſt fallen by thine Iniquity, Take with you words &c.*

The whole Context containeth two Generall parts. An *Invitation* unto Repentance, ver. 1. and an *Inſtitution* how to performe it, in the two verſes following.

In

d Iſa. 26. 9. e ... παιδευμα τοις ἀνθρωποις γινωσθω, ἵνα ἄνθρωποι ἐφίστητε πάντες ἃ δὲ πάσχει ἡμεῖς μηδεὶς βλαπτέτω γινώσκων, Plato apud A. Gel. lib. 6. cap. 14, *famoſos latrones in his locis ubi graſſati ſunt furcâ figendos compluribus placuit ut et conſpectu deterreantur alii ab iiſdem ſaeinoribus. ff. de ſæpulc. L. 28 ſect. famoſos. Vide et in Brutii et in rebus inanimatis obſervata vindictæ, vid.* Pet. Erod. Decret. lib. 2. Tit. 14. Zepper. de legib. l. 1. c. 11. Plin l. 29. c. 4. Plutarch. de fortun. Roman. f Pſal. 52. 6. Luc. 17. 32. Act. 5. 11. Luc. 13. 1. 7 Jer. 3. 8. Dan. 5. 18. 22. Numb. 16. 38. 40.

In the *Invitation* we have the *Matter* of it, and the *Motives* to it. The *Matter* is *Converſion*, without that, the hand which is *lifted up* in threatning, will fall downe in puniſhing, and where that is, God hath a *booke of Remembrance* for his *Iewells*, when his wrath burneth as an Oven againſt the *ſtubble*, *Mal.* 3. 16.

But this Converſion then muſt have two conditions in it. 1. It muſt be *Ad Dominum*, To the Lord; not meerly *philoſophicall* to ſome low and generall dictates of Reaſon, ſuch as *Ariſtotle*, or *Plato*, or *Epictetus*, or *Plutarch* or the like heathen Moraliſts could furniſh us withall, without ſelf-deniall, lowlineſſe of ſpirit, or [h] faith in Chriſt.

Not meerly *politicall*, to credit, or profit, or ſecular ends [i] *propter famam, non propter Conſcientiam*, as the Orator ſpeaks, or as our prophet hath it, *for Corne and for wine*. *Hoſ.* 7. 16. as good be an *empty vine*, as bring forth fruit onely to our ſelves, *Hoſ.* 10. 1.

But it muſt be *ſpirituall*, unto the Lord. *If thou wilt return O Iſrael ſaith the Lord, returne unto me, Ier.* 4. 1. And not onely *Ad Dominum* to the Lord, for that may bee done [k] falſely, and flatteringly, with a halting and a divided heart. By the force of *Semiperſwaſions*, like that of [l] *Agrippa*, and [m] *Orpha*, complementing with God, and then forſaking him. By the force of *compulſory impreſſions*, like that of [n] *Pharaoh* and [o] *Iſrael* in the wildernes. [p] Promiſes on the Racke, and pride when there was reſpite againe, thawing in the Sunne, and freezing in the ſhade; melting in the furnace, and out of it returning unto hardneſſe again, like the prophets *Cake* burnt on the one ſide, and dough on the other. But it muſt be,

Secondly, *usq; ad Dominum*, ſo much the originall word שוב importeth. A [q] full, through, conſtant, continued converſion, with a whole, a fixed, a rooted, an united an eſtabliſhed heart, yeilding up the whole Conſcience and Con-

[f] Iſa. 26. 11. [g] Rom. 10. 3. Heb. 10. 6.

Non ſunt Bona quæ non de radice bona procedunt. Ita ipſa opera quæ discernuntur ab ſidem quamvis videantur hominibus laudabilia, inania ſunt ut magna virtus ſine curſus celerrimus præter viam. Aug. Enarrat. in Pſal. 31. vid. de Spirit. et liter. cap 20. 21. 26. Contra duas epiſt Pelag. lib. 3. c. 7. epiſt. 106 de fide et operib. c. 14 contra Julian. lib. 4. cap. 8.

[i] *Illud ad oſtentationem, omnia ad Conſcientiam referre.* Plin. lib. 4. epiſt. 22.

Nihil opinionis Cauſa, omnia conſcientiæ faciamus. Senec. de vita Beata. cap. 20.

[k] Jer. 3 10.

[l] Act. 26. 28.

[m] Ruth 1. 14.

[n] Exod. 8. 8. Exod. 9. 27. 34.

[o] Pſal. 78. 34. 37

[p] *Semiſanctam hac ætate hæreſtarum voluntatem.* Aug. confeſſ. lib. 8. cap. 8.

plerique ipſum pœnitentiæ paravere fructum. Ambro. de pœnit. lib. 2. cap. 9.

ἐνδοιαζων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπηγγελμένοις μετανοίαις Clem. Alex. lib 2. ſtrom. *Irrefor eſt non pœnitens qui adhuc agit quod pœnitet.*

[q] *Ita. Iſidor. de Summo bono. Magnum non puto unum hominem agere, penitet ſapientem nemo unquam egit. Cæteri imbecilles ſunt.* Senec ep. 100. Ambroſ. offic. lib. 2. c. 22. Joel 2. 12. Act. 11. 23. Pſal. 37. 7. Eph 3. 17. Pſal. 86. 11. Heb. 13. 9.

verſation to bee ruled by Gods will in all things.

The *motives* to this duty are two, Firſt his [r] *Mercy*, he is yet *thy God*, no ſuch argument for our turning unto God as his turning unto us. *Adam* lookes on him as a *Iudge* and hides; the *Prodigall* lookes on him as a *father* and returnes. As the beame of the Sunne ſhining on fire, doth diſcourage the burning of that: ſo the ſhining of Gods mercies on us, ſhould diſhearten, and extinguiſh luſt in us. This is the uſe we ſhould make of *mercy*. Say not, he is *my God*, therefore I may *preſume* upon him, but he is *mine*, therfore I muſt *returne* unto him. Becauſe he is *God*, I will be affraid to *provoke* him; and becauſe he is *mine*, I will be affraid to *forfeite* him. He is ſo *great*, I muſt not dare to offend him, he is ſo *pretious* I muſt not venture to loſe him. His mercy is a * *Holy mercy*, which knowes to *pardon* ſinne, but not to *protect* it. It is a Sanctuary for the *penitent*, not for the *preſumptuous*.

Secondly his Iudgement, and that expreſſed rather as our Act then his, *Thou haſt fallen, by thine Iniquity* [t] If *mercies* do not work upon *Love* let *Iudgements* work upon *fear* [u] Extremities are a warrant unto Importunityes. [w] Even heathen mariners in a ſtorme will call mightily upon God, When there is a deluge comming is it not time for *Noah* to *feare* and to *prepare an arke? Heb.* 11. 7. what meaneſt thou O thou ſleeper to [x] loſe the ſeaſon, and benefit of Gods viſitations? when there is a tempeſt over the ſhippe, heavy diſtreſſes, and diſtractions both at home & abroad, to be ſo ſecure in thy wonted impenitency, as if thou hadſt had no ſinnes to *procure* theſe Iudgements, or no ſence to feele them? as if there were [y] *agreements*, and ſealed covenants between thee and the ſword that it ſhould not touch thee? If thou be falling is it not high time to conſider thy wayes? to ſearch and to Iudge thy ſelfe? to have thine eyes like the windowes of *Solomons* Temple [z] *Broad inwards*,

r Joel. 2. 12. 13. Iſa. 55. 6. 7. Jer. 31. 18. Hoſ. 3. 5. Pſal. 130. 4. Act. 2. 38. Matth. 3. 2. Iſa. 64. 9.

* ἀγαθὸν ἀ τῶ θεῶ ἀνεμπόδιστον, ἡ ἀληθὴς γνῶσις ἀγαθότητα ἀυτῶ. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6.

t Qui beneficiis non intelligitur, vel plagis intelligitur. Cyprian in Demetria.

u Dant animum ad loquendum libera ultima miſeria. Liv. lib. 29.

w --Inopi Senatus Auxilia humani ad Deos populum et vota vertit, ſuſſ. cum conjugibus et liberis ſupplicatum ire, et pacem expoſcere deum. Liv. lib. 3.

Cum ſtupet cælum et aret annus nuntiandalia denunciantur. Magiſtratus purpuram ponunt, faſces ratis avertunt, precem indicunt, baſtiam inſtaurant &c. vid. Tertul. adverſ. phylicos. cap. 16. Clem. Alex. ſtro. lib. 6. 6. pag. 453. Edit Heinſ. Sozomen. lib. 9. cap. 6 Briſſon. de formul. lib. 1.

x Perdidiſti tot mala ſ. nondum miſera eſſe didiciſti. Sen. ad Helvid. perdidiſtu utilitatem calamitatis et miſerrimi falli oſtu et peſſimi permaſſtu. Aug. de civ. dei. lib. 1. cap. 33. 7 Iſa. 28. 15. & 1 King. 6. 4.

to

to find out thine own provocations, and as [a] *David* ſpeaks, to keep thy ſelfe from *Thine owne Iniquity?*

Thus when in one and the ſame time, *Mercies*, and *Iudgments* are intermixed, then is the moſt ſolemne ſeaſon to call upon men for repentance. If we [b] felt nothing but *feares*, they might make us *deſpaire*, if nothing but *mercies* they would make us *ſecure*. If the whole yeere were Summer the ſappe of the earth would be exhauſted, if the whole were Winter, it would be quite buried. The hammer breakes metall, and the fire melts it, and then you may caſt it into any ſhape. Judgements breake, mercies melt, and then, if ever, the ſoule is fit to be caſt into Gods mould. There is no figure in all the Prophets more uſuall then this, to Interweave mercies and judgements, like thoſe Elegancies which [c] Rhetoricians call ἐξύμωρα, to allure and to bring into a wilderneſſe, *Hoſ.* 2. 14. And this of all other is the ἡμέρα κρίσιμος, as [d] Phyſicians call it, the Criticall time of diſeaſed people, wherein the chiefe conjecture lyeth, whether they be mending or ending according to the uſe which they make of ſuch interwoven mercies.

[a] Pſal. 18 23. ἐφυλαξάμην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ κακίας. Plutarch. de ſera numin. vindicta.

[b] *Vide Tertull. Contra Marcion. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

[c] *Voſſius Rhetor. lib. 5. cap. 12. ſect. 7.*

[d] *Vide Gorræi definit. medic.*

I have Curſorily runne over the firſt part of the Context, the *Invitation* unto Repentance, as intending to make my abode on the ſecond, which is the *Inſtitution* how to performe it. Therein we have, firſt a *Generall Inſtruction*, Take unto you words. Secondly a *particular forme*, what words they ſhould take, or a petition drawne to their hands, *Take away All iniquitie, &c.*

Of the former of theſe I ſhall ſpeake but a word. It importeth the ſerious pondering and chooſing of Requeſts to put up to God. [e] The mother of *Artaxerxes* in *Plutarch* was wont to ſay, that they who would addreſſe themſelves unto Princes, muſt uſe 'ῥήματα βυσσινα, ſilken words. Surely he that would approach unto God muſt Conſider and look as well to his words as to his feet. He is * ſo Holy and Jealous of his worſhip, that he expects there ſhould

[e] *Plutarch. Apophthegm.*

* Joſh. 24 19. Joh. 4 24. Eccles 5 1 2. Gen 35 2 3 1 Sam. 16 5. Iſa. 1. 15 16.

be *preparation* in Our acceſſes unto him. Preparation of Our *perſons*, by [f] puritie of life, *Iob* 11. 13. Preparation of Our *Services*, by choyce of matter, *Iob* 9. 14. *Luk.* 15. 17, 18. Preparation of Our [g] *Hearts*, by [h] finding them our, [i] ſtirring them up, [k] fixing them, fetching them in, and [l] calling together all that is within us to prevaile with God.

The ſervices which we thus prepare, muſt be *Taken* from him. They muſt not be the iſſues of our owne private and fleſhly hearts. For nothing can goe to God, but that which comes from him; and this phraſe ſeemeth to Import theſe three things. 1. We muſt attend unto his [m] *Will*, as the *Rule* of our prayers. 2. We muſt attend unto his *precepts*, and [n] *promiſes*, as the *Matter* of our prayers. 3. We muſt attend unto the [o] *Guidance* of his *Holy Spirit*, as the life and *principle* of our prayers, without which we know not what to aske.

And *prayers* thus Regulated are moſt ſeaſonable, and ſoveraigne duties in times of Trouble. The key which openeth a doore of mercy, the ſluce which keepeth out an Inundation of Judgements. *Iacob* wreſtled and obtained a bleſſing, *Hoſ.* 12. 4. *Amos* prayed, and removed a Curſe, *Amos* 7. 1, 7. The woman of Canaan will not be denied with a deniall, *Matt.* 15. 24, 27. The people of Iſrael will begge for deliverance even then when God had poſitively told them, that he would deliver them no more, *Iudg.* 10. 13, 15. *Ionah* will venture a prayer from the bottome of the Sea, when a double death had ſeiſed upon him, the belly of the deepe, and the belly of the Whale, and that prayer of his did open the doores of the Leviathan, as the expreſſion is, *Iob* 41. 14. and made one of thoſe deaths a deliverance from the other.

O let the Lords Remembrancers give him no reſt. [p] There is a kinde of omnipotencie in prayer, as having an Intereſt and prevalence with Gods omnipotencie. [q] It hath looſed Iron chaines; It [r] hath opened Iron gates:

It

[f] *Quantum à præceptis tantum ab auribus Dei longè ſumus.* Tertull. de Orat. cap. 7. — *Ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ καιροῦ ἐφικέσθαι.* Ἄτασθαλίῃσι γὰρ ἄνδρα τάχιστα ἰῶνται. Homer. Iliad. 2.

[g] *Sacerdos parat ſuarum mentes dicendo ſurſum corda.* Cyprian de Oratione.

[h] 2 Sam. 7. 27.

[i] Iſa. 64. 7.

[k] Pſal. 57. 7. 8.

[l] Pſal. 103. 1. 2 Chron. 30. 19.

[m] 1 Iohn 5. 14.

[n] 2 Sam. 7. 25.

[o] Rom. 8. 26. Zach. 12. 10. Iob 37. 19 *vide* Aug. Epiſt. 105. Et Epiſt. 121. cap. 15.

[p] *Dei potentiam ſervi preces impedebant.* Hieron. ad Gaudentium.

[q] Act. 16. 25, 26.

[r] Act. 12. 5, 10.

It hath [f] unlockt the windowes of heaven: It hath [g] broken the bars of death. Satan hath three titles given him in the Scripture ſetting forth his malignitie againſt the Church of God. A [u] *Dragon*, to note his *malice*, a [x] *Serpent*, to note his *ſubtiltie*, and a [y] *Lion* to note his *ſtrength*. But none of all theſe can ſtand before prayer. The greateſt *malice*, the malice of *Haman*, ſinkes under the [z] prayer of *Eſter*; the deepeſt *policy*, the counſell of *Achitophel*, withers before the [a] prayer of *David*: the hugeſt *Armie*, an hoaſt of a thouſand thouſand Ethiopians runne away like Cowards before the [b] prayer of *Aſa*.

[f] 1 King 18 41. *Eulmen ex Cælo precibus ſuis contra hoſtium machinamentum extorſit, ſuis pluviâ Impetrat à cum ſiti laborarent. Iulius Capitolin. in Antonino. vide Iuſtin. Martyr. Apol. 2. Tertul. Apolg. cap 5 39. 40 Et ad Scapulam. c. 4*

[g] Iohn 11. 40 43.

[u] Revel. 12 3.

[x] Gen. 3 1.

[y] 1 Pet. 5. 8

[z] Eſter 4. 16.

[a] 2 Sam. 15 31.

[b] 2 Chron. 14 9. 11. 12.

How ſhould this incourage us to treaſure up our prayers? to beſiege the throne of Grace with armies of ſupplications? to Refuſe a deniall? to breake through a Repulſe? He hath [c] bleſſed thoſe whom he did cripple: he hath [d] anſwered thoſe whom he did reproach: he hath [e] delivered thoſe whom he did denie. And he is the [f] ſame yeſterday and to day. If he ſave in [g] ſixe and in ſeven troubles, ſhould not we pray in ſixe and in ſeven Extremities? Certainely in all the Afflictions of the Church when prayers are ſtrongeſt, mercies are neereſt.

[c] Gen 32 25. 28.

[d] Mat. 15. 26. 28.

[e] Iudg. 10. 13. 16.

[f] Heb. 13. 8.

[g] Iob 5. 19.

And therefore let me Humbly Recommend to the Cares of this Honorable Aſſembly amongſt all your other preſſing affaires, the providing that theſe ſolemne dayes, wherein the United prayers, of this whole Kingdome ſhould with ſtrongeſt Importunities ſtop the breaches, and ſtand in the gappes at which Iudgements are ready to ruſh in upon us, may with more obedience and ſolemnitie be obſerved, then indeed of late they are. It is true, here, and in other Cities, and populous places there is haply leſſe cauſe to complaine. But who can without ſorrow and ſhame behold in our Countrey townes, men ſo unapprehenſive either of their brethrens ſufferings or of their owne ſinnes and dangers, as to give God quite over, to let him reſt, that they themſelves may worke;

worke; to come in truth to *Iehorams* reſolution, Why ſhould we waite upon God any longer? to grudge their brethrens and their owne ſoules and ſafeties one day in thirtie, and to tell all the world that indeed their dayes worke is of more value with them then their dayes worſhip, multitudes drudging and moyling in the earth, while their brethren are mourning and beſieging of heaven. I doe but name it, and proceede.

The ſecond part of the Inſtitution was the *particular forme* ſuggeſted unto them according unto which their addreſſes unto God are to be regulated, which conſiſteth of two parts, a *prayer*, and a *promiſe*. The prayer is for two *Beneſits*, the one *Removeall* of *ſinne*, the other *Conferring of Good*. In the *promiſe* or Reſtipulation we have firſt their *Covenant*, wherein they promiſe two things. 1. *Thankeſgiving* for the hearing and anſwering of their prayers. 2. A *ſpeciall care* for the Amendment of their lives. Secondly the *Ground* of their Confidence ſo to pray, and of their Reſolutions ſo to promiſe, *Becauſe in thee the fatherleſſe findeth mercy*. My meditations will be confined within the firſt of theſe, The prayer of the Church in their feares and ſufferings, wherein I ſhall begin, in the Prophets order, with their prayer againſt ſinne, *Take away all Iniquitie.*

The word ſignifies. 1. To expiate, and make attonement by a ſacrifice. So the ſcape Goate (which was a ſigne of Chriſt Our Sacrifice as Riſen and living againe) is ſaid to carry the ſinnes of the people into the wilderneſſe. *Levit.* 16,22. Thereby ſignifying Chriſts taking our ſinnes from us, *Ioh.* 1.29. Heb. 9.28. 2. To forgive, which in the Court of mercy is the taking of ſinne away, *Pſal.* 32. 1. 5. 3. To remove or take away by deſtroying. So it is uſed, *Heſ.* 1. 6. *Iob* 32. 22. and is ſometimes uſed to expreſſe Burning, 2 *Sam.* 5. 21. *Nahum* 1. 5. ſo ſinne is ſaid to be deſtroyed, *Rom.* 6. 6. to be ſubdued, *Mic.* 7. 19. to be purged away with the ſpirit of Judgement and burning, *Iſa.* 4. 4.

The

The meaning then is, Take away all Our ſinnes from us, lay them upon Chriſt Our Sacrifice, for his Merit pardon them, by his Grace deſtroy and ſubdue them, that ſo the roote of Judgements being removed, they likewiſe may therewithall be removed too. From hence the Obſervation which I ſhall inſiſt upon is this.

When God threatneth Iudgements we in our Converſion unto him ſhould pray againſt ſinnes. Our Eye of ſorrow ſhould be more upon that which diſhonoureth him, then upon that which afflicts our ſelves; more upon that which is contrary to his *Image*, then upon that which is contrary to our own *nature*: more upon that which *defileth*, then upon that which *paineth* us. [h] *Pharaoh* cares for nothing but the removall of death: [i] *Simon Magus* for nothing but to have perdition and the gall of bitterneſſe kept from him. But good men, like wiſe Phyſicians cure the diſeaſe at the roote, as [k] *Eliſha* did the waters by putting Salt into the ſpring he d. The Angel was ſmiting the people with a plague, [l] *David* betakes himſelfe to the right remedie, *I have ſinned, I have done wickedly*; He goes not to the *Phyſicians*, but to the *Altar* to make attonement for ſin, and ſo the plague was ſtaied. Deſtruction was threatned againſt *Iſrael* for their Calfe, their murmurings, their Rebellions. *Moſes ſtands in the gappe* to divert it, *Pſal.* 106. 23. But how doth he doe it? ſurely by praying againſt their ſinnes. [m] *O this people have ſinned a great ſinne, O that thou wouldeſt forgive them.* A ſicke man was brought to *Chriſt* to be healed, *Mat.*9.2. *Chriſt* overlookes the diſeaſe, and beginnes at the ſinne, *ſonne, be of good cheere thy ſinnes are forgiven thee*; and this being forgiven, the malignitie of the diſeaſe was removed, though the matter ſhould have remained. This was the uſuall method of [n] *David* in his troubles, to throw over theſe *Shebaes* that had wrought his woe. Blot out, waſh throughly, Cleanſe, Create, Renew: he is farre more Importunate for pardon and purging, then for Eaſe and Comfort. *Complaining* in

h Exod. 10.17.
i Act. 8.24.
k 2 Reg. 2.21.
l 2 Sam. 24.17. 25.
m Exod. 32.31. 32. 34.9. Num. 14.19.
n Pſal. 25.8. 32 4.5. 38 3,4. 51.

trouble is the worke of a man, but [o] *Repenting* is the worke of a Christian.

The Reasons of this point are these Three.

I. If a Iudgement should be Removed, while sinne remaines, It is not removed in Mercy but in anger: for many times God gives over punishing in displeasure, as a man throweth away the rod when his scholler is Incorrigible. *Why should you be smitten any more, you will revolt more and more*, Isa. 1. 5. If men be setled on their lees, and will not be reclaimed, there cannot an heavier punishment light upon them, then to be [p] without punishment, to be left to themselves, and the furie of their owne wils, speedily to worke out their owne perdition, that their owne *pleasures* may become their *plagues*, and the *libertie* of their owne lusts, their sorest *bondage*. God may take away in wrath that which he sent in anger, *Hos.* 13. 11. as on the other side he may punish sinne then when he forgiveth it, and may visit iniquitie with rods then when he will *not utterly take away his loving kindnesse* from a people, *Psal.* 99. 8. 89. 32. 33.

II. If a Judgement be removed, so long as sinne remaines it is gone *Cum animo Revertendi*, either the same or a worse is likely to succeed, for God will [r] *Overcome when he judgeth*. *Pharaohs* stubbornnesse did but increase his plagues. God will not endure that the pride of man should Outvie his Justice. If we do not take *Christs* warning to goe and *sinne no more*, we have great cause to feare his inference, that a *worse thing will come upon us*, Ioh. 5. 14. If we doe [s] *yet exalt* our selves, God will [t] *yet plead* with us. If we will [u] *walke contrary* unto him, he threatneth to doe the like unto us, and to punish us seven times more for our sinnes. If we doe not turne unto him that smiteth us, then his [x] anger in smiting shall *not be turned away, but his hand shall be stretched out still*. God can bring clouds after raine, distresses in *Ireland* after distractions in *Scotland*, and distractions in *England* after distresses in *Ireland*, mischiefe

o Lam 3 39. 40.

p Hos 4 14. Psal. 81. 11, 12. Ezek. 24. 13. Rom. 1. 24. 28. Revel 22. 11. *Exaudit propitius, non exaudit Iratus: et rursus non exaudit propitius, exaudit Iratus. — non parcit propitius parcit Iratus.* Aug. contra Iulian. lib. 5. cap. 4. *Parci sibi putat, cum excaecatur, & servetur ad ultimam opportunamque vindictam.* Aug. in Psal 9. *Ad utilitatem quosdam non exaudit, ad damnationem quosdam exaudit.* In Psa. 21 *Iratus dat Amanti quod male amat*, in Psal. 26. *Magna Ira est quando peccantibus non irascitur Deus.* Hieron. Ep. 33. Et in Psal. 140. *Indignantis dei major hac plaga.* Cyprian. de Lapsis. *O servum illum beatum cujus Emendationi Deus instat, cui dignatur irasci, &c.* Tertull. de patient. cap. 11.

r Rom. 3 4.

s Exod 9. 17.

t Ier 2. 9.

u Levit. 26. 18. 2 . 24 28.

x Isa 9. 12.

chiefe upon miſchiefe, and counſell againſt counſell, *Manaſſe* againſt *Ephraim*, and *Ephraim* againſt *Manaſſe*, to vex, and wearie out a ſinfull people till they pine away in their Calamities.

III. Sinne being removed, though the Affliction ſhould not be removed, yet it is *ſanctified* and turned into good. Repentance like the *Philoſophers ſtone* can turn Iron into Gold, can make *Golden Afflictions*. So the triall of our faith, that is, our Affliction, is ſaid to be *more precious then Gold*, 1 Pet. 1. 7 Whereas ſinne Remaining is like *Copres* which will turne wine or milke into inke. It converts the bleſſings of God into the proviſions of luſt. Cankers Learning with pride, and wit with profaneſſe, and wealth with Luxury; like Leaven which turnes a very Paſſeover into pollution. As the [y] Pearle, which is an Ornament to the woman which weares it, is a diſeaſe to the fiſh which breeds it: as the ſame perfume which refreſheth a Dove, is mortall to a Vulture: as the ſame pillar and cloud was light to *Iſrael*, but darke to Egypt: the ſame deepe a path to *Iſrael*, but a grave to *Egypt*: ſo the ſame bleſſings which by grace are converted into comforts, by ſinne are abuſed unto diſhonorable ſervices. [z] Sweete powders can make leather an ornament; when the *Sanies* of a plague ſore will render a robe infectious. As it was ſaid of *Naaman*, He was a great man, an honourable man, a mightie man of warre; [a] *But he was a Leaper*: ſo what ever other ornaments a man hath, ſinne ſtaines them with the fouleſt *But*, that can be brought to deprave the faireſt endowments. A learned man, a wealthy man, a wiſe man, an honourable man, *But a wicked man*. This makes all thoſe other good things tributary unto Satan.

And therefore as the [b] Gold and Silver of the Cananites was to paſſe through the fire before it cou'd be uſed by *Iſrael*: ſo all other bleſſings beſtowed on men, muſt paſſe through the *ſpirit of Iudgement and burning*, through the purifying waters of Repentance, before they can bring

y *Aldrovand. lib. 3. cap. 13.*

Hag. 2. 13, 13.

z Ἀλείμματα τοῦ ζώντος ἰσχάδες ἦ ἰόμασι τοῦ θνήσκοντος. Plutarch αἷμα ἰχῶρος ἦ πύους.

a 2 Reg. 5. 1.

b Num. 31. 22.

bring honour to the Authour, or comfort to the enjoyer of them. When Chriſt overcometh Satan, [c] *he taketh from him all his armour, and divideth the ſpoiles*, Luk. 11. 21. How doth he divide the ſpoiles? ſurely he maketh uſe of that wit, wealth, power, learning, wiſedome, intereſts, which Satan uſed againſt Chriſts kingdome, as inſtruments and ornaments unto the Goſpel. As when a Magazine in warre is taken, the Generall makes uſe of thoſe armes which were provided againſt him, for his owne ſervice.

[c] τὰ τοῦδε τελάμων τε καὶ ὤμος ἔπειτα καὶ κνημὶς ἐπάστη ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος. Homer. Iliad. 11. *Qui ſe dedebant arma tradebant.* Caſar de Bello Gallico: lib. 3.

And as ſinne doth thus corrupt bleſſings, ſo on the other ſide Repentance doth ſweeten Judgements, and can * turne afflictions into matter of comfort. As skarlet puls out the teeth of a ſerpent, ſo this takes away the ſting of a Judgement. As wine draweth a nouriſhing vertue from the fleſh of Vipers: as hott birds can feede upon Iron, and purge their bodies with ſwallowing of ſtones; ſo repentance, though it ſhould not remove a Judgement, yet it can feede upon it, and fetch meat out of the Eater, and out of the ſtrong ſweetneſſe.

* *Venenum alliquando pro Remedio fuit*, Senec. de Beneficiis. lib. 2. cap. 18. *Medici pedes et alas Cantharidu, cum ſit ipſa mortifera, prodeſſe dicunt.* Plutarch de Audiend. poetis.

There are two Evils in Afflictions. Their *thorne in the fleſh* as they are matter of *paine*, and their [d] *ſnare to the Conſcience*, as they are matter of *Temptation*. As there are two things in a chaine or fetter, the *heavineſſe* whereby it loads, and the *hardneſſe* whereby it gaules. Now as a priſoner, though he cannot make his chaine lighter then it is, yet by lining it with wooll or other ſoft things he can prevent the galling: ſo Repentance though it take not away the pain of Affliction from the fleſh, yet by meekning and humbling the ſoule, with ſilence and quietneſſe to [e] *bear the indignation of the Lord, & accept of the puniſhment of ſinne*: it removeth the temptation and malignitie of it from the Conſcience. And thus as [f] *Protagoras* by his naturall dexterity ordered the burden which he was to bear with more eaſe and advantage: ſo Piety makes Judgements, by ſpirituall prudence, more eaſie to be borne, and the

[d] Iſa 8. 11. 2 Chron. 18 22. Revel. 16. 15.

[e] Mic. 7. 9. Levit. 26. 41. Jer. 10. 19.

[f] A. Gell. lib. 5. cap. 3.

the light yoke of Christ, as bladders in a deepe water, beares up the spirits of men from sinking, and lightneth every other burden. And therefore as he in [g] *Plutarch* said of the *Scythians*, that though they had no musicke nor Vines amongst them yet they had Gods: so what ever other things may bee wanting to a people, yet if God be their God, they are not destitute of any happinesse.[h] Yea as those Roses are usually sweetest which grow neerest unto stinking weeds: so the comforts of Gods Spirit are strongest when a man is otherwise perplexed with the greater difficulties. It was promised unto *Iosiah* that he should die in peace, 2 *Chron.* 34. 28. and yet we finde that he was slaine in warre, *Chapt.* 35. 24. His weeping and Humiliation altered the very nature of trouble, and made warre to be peace unto him.

g *Plutarch.* συμπος. ἑπτὰ σοφῶν.

h *Plutarch de Sanitate tuend.*

Now for the Use and Application of this point, This serveth first to instruct us how to deprecate Calamities when God shaketh his Rod over us. There [i] is nothing in all the world that God is Angry with but sinne: for all other things are his Owne workes, in the goodnesse of which he rested with singular complacency and delight. Sinne is that against which Gods arrows are directed; and as the arrow sticks in the Butt unto which the marke is fastned: so the judgements which are shot at sin, must needs light upon us unto whom sinne cleaveth. The way then to divert the arrow is to remove the marke. It is true, God doth sometimes bring afflictions without respect to the provocations of sinne, upon his best servants. As, if a man would shape out of a masse of gold some excellent vessell, though the gold be never so pure, yet it must passe through the fire and the hammer againe. But it is certaine too, that no affliction comes in *Anger* but with respect to sin. And the *Anger* of God is the bitterest thing in any Calamitie.

i *Vsque ad delictum hominis Deus tantùm bonus, exinde Iudex & sevus, &c. Tertull. Contr. Marcion. lib. 2. cap. 11. 14.*

Now for diversion of this there is no way but to get sin removed. Take the barke from a tree, and the sappe can

never finde way to the boughs. Sinne is the *Vehiculum* which carries ſhame and ſorrow to the ſoule. Take away that, and a Judgement hath no Commiſſion. You may finde an *Error* in it, if you be not the ſame men that you were when it iſſued forth, for God ſhootes no arrowes to hurt the body of his Sonne. It is true, *Iob* complaines that *Gods arrowes did ſticke in him*, Job 6. 4. But theſe were not for [k] *deſtruction* but for *triall*: as men ſhoot bullets againſt armour of proofe, not to hurt it, but to praiſe it. *Iob* in this caſe was brought forth not as a *malefactor* to ſuffer, but as a *Champion* to triumph. Let a man take what courſe he can to keepe off Gods judgements, and hide himſelfe in the cloſeſt protection that humane power or policy can contrive, ſo long as he keepes his ſinne within, Gods arrowes will get through at one [l] joynt or other. A naked man with Innocency, is better armed then *Goliah* in braſſe or Iron.

[k] *Verbera & lacerat non eſt ſævitia, Certamen eſt.* Seneca. *de provid. cap.* 4. *Tentationibus non vincitur fides, ſed probatur.* Cyprian *de Mortal.* Aug. *de Civ. Dei. lib.* 1. *cap.* 29. 30. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 3.

[l] 1 King. 22. 34.

We are apt in our diſtreſſes to howl, and repine, to gnaw our tongues, and teare our fleſh in the anguiſh of our ſufferings. Like the ſilly Hart, which runs mourning and bleeding, but never thinkes of getting out the fatall dart which ſticks in his ſide. We looke [m] *upward* to ſee whether help will drop into our mouthes; and we look *downward* to ſee whether Humane ſuccours will availe us. But we looke not *inward*, to finde out the [n] *plague of our owne hearts* that we may be rid of that. And till this be done, ſinne doth as naturally draw and ſuck judgements to it, as the Loadſtone doth iron, or Turpentine fire. Indefatigable have been the paines of this High Court, to make up the breaches that threaten us, and to heale the Land. Whence comes it that our diſtractions remaine unremoved? Certainly our leakes are not ſtopped, our ſins are not throwne away, we labour at the plumps to get the water out, but we doe not take care to cure the paſſage at which it enters in: we are old bottles ſtill, and [o] *God will not put new wine into old bottles.* If men would ſpend their murmurings and reproches rather upon their ſins then upon

[m] 2 Kin. 8. 21. 22.

[n] 1 King. 8. 38.

[o] Mat. 9. 17.

their

their Phyſicians the worke would be ſooner done. When the Temple of God was to be new built, and a publike reſtitution of the face of things unto Glory and ſplendour was in agitation, the [p] *Prophets* call upon Gods people in ſpeciall then to repent. Impenitency puts Obſtructions to Gods mercy, and to all noble Enterpriſes. So long as our lives are as bad as before, how can we expect that our condition ſhould be better? in that caſe mercies themſelves become no mercies: as in the caſe of Repentance, judgements would be no judgements. If we turne from Our evill wayes, God hath engaged himſelfe by a ſolemne promiſe, that he *will doe us no harme*, Jer. 25. 6. Otherwiſe to buſie our ſelves in outward Ceremonies of Repentance, bodily faſting, and verball praying, is indeed but to flatter God, and, if we could, to deceive him. And God will anſwer ſuch men not according to the *prayer of their lips*, but according to the *Idol of their hearts*, Ezekiel 14. 4. 5.

[p] Hag. 1. 6. Zach. 1. 3.

[q] μετὰ πόλιν ἀναίλατον νομίζειν τὰλλὰ τὰς ἄνω πόλας βαλανίζειν ἢ μὴ λύειν, ἢ κεφαλὰς τὰς ὄχεας ἰχνεύειν, ἀν δια μᾶς τὰς πολίμους παγιδύοντας ἐνδον. Plutarch. Sympoſ. lib. 7. queſt. 5.

[r] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 1. Et polit. lib. 5. cap. 8.

[s] Neſcio an peſtimum hoc aliquod peccatum dicere, quod in Dei Contemptum admittitur. Hieron. Epiſt. ad Celantiam ſignum profectus eſt malum malorum agnoſcere, ἀνὰ ἐπιγνῶναι ἢ ἁμαρτίαι ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας. Plutarch de profectu virtutum. In minimis fidelem eſſe magnum eſt. Aug. de Doctr. Chriſt. lib. 4.

Secondly, this teacheth us how to pray againſt ſinne. It muſt be againſt *All*, and in *all reſpects*. In the Hebrew text there is a kind of unuſuall tranſpoſition of the words, כל־תסא עון The word *All* is firſt. Me thinkes it doth intimate an Intentneſſe of the Church upon that point, to have, if it were poſſible, All taken away at the very firſt. If there be [q] one leake in a ſhip, one gappe in a wall, one gate in a Citie unprovided for; It is enough to ſink a ſhip, to drowne a Countrey, to betray a Citie. One little boy thruſt in at a window can unlock the doors for all the reſt of the theeves. It was but one *Ionah* that raiſed a Tempeſt, but one *Achan* that troubled a Campe, and one ſinne generally unrepented of, were enough to undoe a Kingdome. Doe not ſay it is a little one, and my ſoule ſhall live. Even the Philoſopher telleth us, that ſometimes ἀδικήματα ἐλάχιστα are μέγιστα, the ſmalleſt Errors prove moſt dangerous. How little ſoever it be in its owne *nature*, it becomes hainous by thy *allowance*. It is as much reaſon

to

to coine pence as twenty ſhilling peeces, becauſe the Royall authority is as much violated by the one as the other.

This then we muſt firſt and principally remember to ſet our ſelves againſt *All ſinne.* In *Confeſsion* none to be diſſembled, in *Supplication* none to be excepted, in *Converſion* none to be reſerved: never give it over ſo long as any is left. *O Lord*, yet it workes, yet it lives, yet it tempts, yet it pains me. Sin hath not done *accuſing* of me, Let not thy *mercy* have done *forgiving* of ſin. Sin hath not done rebelling in me, let not thy *Grace* have done *ſubduing* of ſin. When men kil Snakes or Vipers, ſo long as they ſee them pant, or offer to thruſt out a ſting they ſtrike them ſtil. Sin like the theife on the Croſſe, when it is faſt naild and kept from its old tyrannie, yet will, as much as it can, reviſe, and ſpit out venome upon Chriſt. O therefore give it not over, breake the legs of it, crucifie it cleane through till it be quite dead. None can pray or turne unto God in truth, or hope to be delivered from Judgements in Mercy, ſo long as he holds faſt any knowne ſinne. Can any man looke to receive benefit by the blood of Chriſt, who hugges the villaine that ſhed it? Is it not treaſon knowingly to harbour and entertaine a Traytor? Whoſoever loves and holds faſt ſinne, lies unto God in every prayer that he makes.

This ſerveth to reprove and humble us for our Hypocriſie and halvings with God in our converſions from ſin, and confeſſions of it, we are willing to pray for the pardon of them *All*, we would have none hurt us: but when it comes to parting, and taking all away, this we cannot away with. Some are fat, delicate, golden ſinnes, we would faine ſpare theſe as [t] *Saul* did *Agag*, and hide them as [u] *Achan* did his wedge. [x] *Herod* heares *Iohn* gladly in *many things*, but if he reſtraine him of his *Herodias*, he muſt expect to be himſelfe reſtrained. [y] *Agrippa* will be *Almoſt a Chriſtian*, but *Altogether* may chance bring a chaine with it.

t 1 Sam. 15. 9.
u Ioſh. 7. 21.
x Mark 6. 20.
y Act. 26. 28.

it. [x] *Iehu* will downe with *Baal* and his Prieſts, but he knowes not how to part with his Calves, leſt he venture his kingdome. Policy is ever entring Caveats againſt Piety. Thus men huck, and ſtand upon abatements with Chriſt in the Bargaine of Salvation, not conſidering that the purchaſe of heaven, is like the buying of the Sybils prophecie the longer we ſtand off, the dearer every day it will coſt us; the more teares, the harder repentance, the deeper ſorrow, the ſtronger cries. Theſe men know not the price of a ſoule, nor the worth of a Saviour.

[x] 2 King 10. 30, 31.

O if Chriſt ſhould have ſerved us ſo in dying for ſinne, as many of us, doe ſerve him in turning from ſinne, what a condition had our ſoules beene In? If he had died for ſome ſinnes, and not for others, If he had beene unwilling to *ſave us to the uttermoſt*, as we are to ſerve him to the uttermoſt, if he ſhould have ſtopt before he came to *Conſummatum eſt*, and left any one drop of that bitter Cup for us to drinke after him, would it not have cauſed our belly to ſwell, and our thigh to rott, and made us for ever uncapable of any other mercy then onely a leſſe damnation.

a 1 Tim. 1. 15. Zeph 1.5. 2 Reg. 17. 33. Nehem. 13. 24.

b *Alterna inter cupiditatem noſtram, et paenitentiam vices ſunt. Senec. de otio Sap cap. 27.*

Well (beloved,) Chriſt expecteth, that as he died *for all* ſinne, ſo we ſhould die *to All*: he will be counted [a] *worthy of all Acceptation*, before he will beſtow himſelfe: he will not ſuffer his Blood and his Mercy to mingle with ſin, or to be a protection to it: he cannot endure mingling of the holy ſeede with the prophane: Swearing by God, and ſwearing by *Malcham. Samaritan Services*, to be for the Lord in one thing, and for the world and fleſh in another, one ſtep ſtraight, and another crooked; one Speech *Aſhdod*, and another *Canaan*, to let our Converſation be yea and nay, a mungrill Service, [b] In this I will doe as you bid me, but in that I will not; like the *Iewes* that would buy Chriſts blood with money; but not take the money into the treaſurie; they were fearefull to defile their Cheſts, but not to defile their Conſciences: This Chriſt

Maximum indicium mala mentis ſinultuaria. Epiſt. 120.

Vir bonus. δικαιοσύνη. Ariſt. Ethic. lib. 9. c. 4. 6. τηρεμικός. lib. 1. cap. 10. μὴ δοκεῖ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. lib. 8 cap. 8. ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ δὲ μὴν, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ λόγον ἐνεργείᾳ, &c. Clem. Alex. ſtrom. lib. 4.

Nulli ſervorum licet ea in quæ dominus imperat, quod placuerit aſſumere, quod diſplicuerit repudiare. Salvian. de provid. lib. 3.

cannot away with. It is dangerous to ſay with the [c] Phariſee, This I am not, and that I am not; or with the [d] young man, this and that I have done, and in the meane time to have one thing lacking, to have one door locked up ſtill to keepe Chriſt and ſalvation from us: whoſoever keepes a covetous heart for the world, or a ſenſuall heart for the fleſh, or a proud heart for the devill, is unworthy of Heaven by his owne Election, and would not goe in thither if the doore were wide open: he would not find there any fuell for theſe his luſts, any *Naball*, or *Coſby*, or *Diotrephes* to converſe withall. And ſurely he that doth any [e] *one* wickednesſe with *allowance* in Gods conſtruction is *Habitually* guiltie of all, *Iam.*2.10. *Luk.*16.10. *Ezech.*18.10. 13.

Therefore in this Caſe as [f] *Samuel* ſaid to *Ieſſe*, *Are here All thy children?* if any be left we will not ſit down till he come. So we muſt conceive in our confeſſions, and abrenunciations of ſinne, that Chriſt asketh us *Are here All?* if any be reſerved, I will not take poſſeſſion till that be caſt out: there muſt not an [g] *hoofe* be left in Egypt, if God be to be ſerved, Gods Law, as well as mans, diſallowes *Inmates* in the ſame houſe: he will not endure a [h] *divided* heart: he is *heire of all things*, there lies no *Writ of partition in* his Inheritance, his Title is ſo good that he will never yeeld to a *Compoſition*, he will have *All* the heart or none.

4. We ſhould therefore be exhorted (in time of trouble eſpecially) to ſet about this great worke, to fall foule upon our ſinnes, to complaine againſt them to God, as the *Achans* that trouble *Iſrael*, as the corrupters and betrayers of our peace, to ſet our ſelves in Gods eye, and not to dare to lie unto his holy Spirit, by falſeneſſe or hypocriſie; as if we could reſerve any one ſinne unmortified which he ſhould not know of. But being in his ſight *to whom all things are naked and open*, to deale in *all ſinceritie*, and to hate ſinne even as he hates it.

There

c Luk.18.11.

d Mar.10.20.

e *Qui unus peccatis omnium Reus eſt, peccans contra Charitatem in qua pendent omnia, Aug. Epiſt 29. Si pauca ſimulacra circumſtat in unâ Idololatria eſt, ſi unam ibeuſam trahat, Iovis tamen plauſtrum eſt, Tertull. Vide. Senec. de Benefic lib.4 cap. 26,27. lib.5 cap. 15.*

f 1 Sam.16.11.

g Exod.10.26.

h Pſal.12.2. Iam.1.8. Pſal.119.104. 128.

Heb 4.13. Gen.17.1. 2 Cor.2.17.

There are five notable duties which theſe three words *Omnem tolle Iniquitatem,* doe lead us unto.

1. *Senſe of ſinne* as of an heavie burden, as the Prophet *David* cals it, *Pſal.* 38.5. Such ſenſe our Saviour requires in true penitents, *Come unto me all ye that are wearie and heavie laden,* Matt. 11. 28. To conceive them heavier then a *Milſtone,* Luk. 17. 2. Then the weight of a *Mountaine,* Luk. 23. 30. O what apprehenſion had S^t. *Peters* Converts of ſinne, when they felt the nailes wherewith they had crucified Chriſt, ſticking faſt in their owne hearts, and piercing their ſpirits with torment and Horror? *Act.* 2. 37. Oh what apprehenſions had the poore Jaylor of his ſins, when he came as a priſoner before his owne priſoners, ſpringing in with monſtrous amazement, and Conſternation of ſpirit, beſeeching them to tell him *What he ſhould doe?* Act. 16. 23. 30.

Conſider it in its *Nature*: an Univerſall Bruiſe and ſickneſſe, like thoſe diſeaſes which Phyſicians ſay are *Corruptio totius ſubſtantiæ,* from head to foote, *Iſa.* 1. 5. 6. And who doth not feele ſuch an Univerſall languor to be an heavie burden? for a man that muſt needs labour, to have weights hung at his hands; that muſt needs walke, to have clogs faſtened to his feet, how can he chooſe but cry out with the Apoſtle, O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me, *Rom.* 7. 24.

Conſider it in the *Curſe* that belongs unto it. *A Roll written within and without* with Curſes. Ezek 2. 10.

Looke *Outward,* and behold a Curſe in the *Creature,* Vanitie, Emptineſſe, Vexation, Diſappointment; every Creature armed with a ſting to revenge it Makers quarrell.

Looke *Inward,* and behold a Curſe in the *Conſcience,* accuſing, witneſſing, condemning, haling to

the Tribunall of vengeance; firſt defiling with the *allowance*; and after terrifying with the *remembrance* of ſinne.

Looke *Vpward*, and behold a Curſe in the *heavens*, the *wrath of God revealed* from thence upon all unrighteouſneſſe. Rom. 1. 18.

Looke *Downeward*, and behold a Curſe in the *Earth*, Death ready to put a period to all the pleaſures of ſinne, and like to a trap doore to let downe into hell, where nothing of ſinne will remaine, but the *worme* and the *fire*.

Looke into the *Scripture* and ſee the Curſe there deſcribed. An *everlaſting baniſhment* from the glory of Gods preſence. An *everlaſting deſtruction* by the glory of his power, 2 *Theſſ.* 1. 9. The Lord ſhewing the jealouſie of his Juſtice, the unſearchableneſſe of his ſeverity, the unconceiveableneſſe of his ſtrength, the bottomeleſſe guilt and Malignitie of ſinne, in the everlaſting deſtruction of ungodly men, and in the everlaſting * preſerving of them to feele that deſtruction: *Who knoweth the power of thine anger*, ſaith *Moſes. Even according to thy feare ſo is thy wrath*, *Pſal.* 90. 11. It is impoſſible for the moſt trembling Conſciences, or the moſt jealous feares of a guiltie heart, to looke beyond the wrath of God, or to conceive more of it then indeed it is. As in peace of conſcience, the mercy of God is revealed unto beleevers *from faith to faith*: ſo in anguiſh of conſcience the wrath of God is revealed unto ſinners *from feare to feare*.

* *Anima in corpore erit non vivendi causâ ſed dolendi. Aug. de civ. dei lib. 13. cap. 2.*
Prima mors animam nolentem pellit à corpore, ſecunda nolentem vinctat in corpore. Ibid. lib. 21. cap. 3.

A timorous man can fancie vaſt and terrible fears, fire, ſword, tempeſt, wracks, furnaces, ſcalding lead, boyling pitch, running bell-mettall; and being kept alive in all theſe to feele their torment.

But

But theſe come far ſhort of the wrath of God, for firſt there are bounds ſet to the hurting power of a *Creature*, the fire can burne, but it cannot drowne; the ſerpent can ſting, but he cannot teare in pieces. 2. The feares of the heart are bounded within thoſe narrow apprehenſions which it ſelfe can frame of the hurts which may be done. But the wrath of God proceeds from an *Infinite* Juſtice, and is executed by an Omnipotent and *unbounded* power, compriſing all the terror of all other Creatures, (as the Sunne doth all other light) eminently and exceſſively in it. It burnes, and drownes, and teares, and ſtings, and bruiſes, and conſumes, and can make *nature feel* much more then *reaſon* is able to *comprehend*.

O if we could lay theſe things ſeriouſly to heart (and yet theſe are but low expreſſions, of that which cannot be expreſſed, and cometh as ſhort of the truth it ſelfe as the picture of the Sunne in a table, doth of the greatneſſe and brightneſſe of it in its own Orbe) ſhould we not finde it neceſſary to cry out, *Take away all Iniquitie?* this ſickneſſe out of my ſoul, this ſword, this nayle, this poiſoned arrow out of my heart, this *Dagger* of *Ehud* out of my belly, this milſtone, this Mountaine from off my backe, theſe ſtings and terrors, theſe flames and Furies out of my Conſcience? Lord, my wounds ſtinke, my lips quiver, my knees tremble, my belly rots, I am feeble, and broken, and roare, and languiſh; thy wrath lyes hard upon me, and thy waves goe over my head.

O if we had but a view of ſinne as it is in its native foulneſſe, and did feele but a touch of that fury that God is ready to powre out upon it, this would ſtaine all the pride of man, and ſoure all the pleaſures of ſin, and make a man as fearefull to meddle with it, as a guilty woman with the bitter water which cauſed the Numb. 5.

Curse. Most true was that which *Luther* spake in this point. If a man could perfectly see his owne evils, the sight thereof would be a perfect hell unto him: and and this God will bring wicked men unto. Reprove them, and set their sinnes in order before them, *Psal.* 50.21. Make them take a view of their owne hearts and lives, fuller of sins then the Firmament of stars, or a furnace of sparks. O *Consider this you that forget me*, saith the Lord: *Lest I teare you in peeces, and there be none to deliver you.*

The second dutie is *Confession*, for he that cries to have sinne taken away, acknowledgeth that it lies upon him. A *full Confession* not of many, but of All sinnes, either *actually* committed, or *habitually* comprised in our body of sin. * As he in the Comœdian said, that he had invited two guests to dinner *Philocrates*, and *Philocrates*, a single Man, but a double Eater: So in examination of our selves we shall every one finde sinnes enough in himselfe to denominate him a double and a treble sinner. A *free Confession*, not as *Pharaohs*, extorted upon the wrack; nor as that of *Iudas*, squeezed out with anguish and horror, but ingenuous and penitent, arising from the purpose of a pious heart, that cometh like water out of a *Spring*, with a voluntary freenesse; not like water out of a *Still*, which is forced with fire.

* *Athenaeus. lib.* 1.

The third dutie is *Wearinesse* and *detestation* of all sinne, for we call not to have a thing removed till we be weary of it. Thus we are taught in the * Scripture, to be ashamed, and confounded; to loath, and abhor, to judge and condemne our selves; to throw sinne away as a detestable thing, though it be a golden or silver sinne. A Spirituall Judgement lookes on all sinne as filthy and [a] stinking; sheweth a man to himselfe as a vessell full of Dung, Scumme, Excrements, and

* Psal 38.2. Ezek. 16.63. Ezek 6.9. 20.43. 1 Cor. 11.31. Isa. 30.22. a Psal. 14.3. 2 Cor. 7. *Omnis quem pœnitet vexatur secum. Aug. in Psal.* 34.

and makes him out of quiet till he be throughly purged. For Hatred is πρὸς τὰ γένη, against the whole kind of that which we hate. *Arist. Rhet.*

The fourth dutie is an acknowledgement of our owne *Impotencie* to remove sinne from our selves. we have no more power then a slave in chaines hath to get out of his bondage till another ransome him, then a dead body in a grave, till Christ raise it. Our Iniquitie *takes hold* on us, and *keepes us downe*, that we cannot hearken or be subject to the will of God. If sinne were not removed by a greater strength then our owne, it would most certainly sinke us into Hell.

Eph. 2. 1. 5. Psal. 40. 12. Rom 5. 6. 7. 6. 24. 2 Cor. 3. 5. Ier. 6. 10. Rom. 8. 7.

The last dutie is an *Imploring* of Gods mercie and grace, that what we cannot do our selves, he would be pleased to do for us. * In works of Art it is hard to build, but easie to destroy. But in workes of sinne though Our *weakenesse* is able to *Commit* them, yet none but Gods *power* is able to *demolish* them.* None but Christ is strong enough to overcome the strong Man. His *Person* onely hath strength enough to *beare* the Curse of sinne: His *Sacrifice* onely *Merit* enough to make expiation for sinne. His *Grace* onely vertue enough to remove the pollution of sinne. Though we should *take Nitre and much Sope*, our sinne would be *marked still*; but he cometh with *Refiners Fire and with Fullers Soape*, and can wash out all. It was his onely businesse of coming into the world, *To destroy the workes of the Devill.*

* *Facile est momento, quo quis velit, cedere possessione magna fortuna: facere et parare eam difficile atque arduum. Liv. lib. 24. Corpora lentè augescunt cito extinguuntur. Tacit. Vit. Agric. Arbores Magnas diu crescere, unâ horâ extirpari. Q. Curt. lib. 7.*

* Luk. 11. 21. Ier 2. 22. Mal 3. 3. 1 Ioh. 3. 8

Now the things which we pray for in this Petition are these three. 1. For *Remission*, that God would take away the condemnation of sinne from us, by not imputing the guilt thereof unto us, but would cause it to *passe over* on Christ, on whom he hath *laid the*

Iniquitie

Iſa. 53 6. Rom. 4. 8. *Iniquitie of his people.* Such an Expreſſion the Holy Ghoſt uſeth, העכיל the Lord hath cauſed thy ſinne *to paſſe over from* thee to Chriſt, 2 *Sam.* 12. 13. which being obtained all other Judgements are *ipſo facto* removed to, ſo farre as they import proper and vindictive puniſhment.

Heb 9. 4. Mich. 7. 19. Secondly, for *Sanctification*, That the vertue of Chriſts Death, and the grace of his Spirit may ſubdue the power of ſinne, and cleanſe and ſtrengthen our conſciences againſt the commands of it, and Temptations unto it.

Thirdly, for continued *Renovation*, that as in Sanctification begunne we have power againſt *all kindes* of ſinne, ſo by the continuall *ſupplies of the holy Spirit*, we may have further power againſt all *degrees* and remainders of ſin. That Chriſt would purſue our ſinne unto death, as our ſinne did him, and not give over mortifying it, till his bloud be revenged of it to the uttermoſt, and our ſoules delivered from it to the uttermoſt.

I ſhall conclude this firſt part of the Petition with a ſhort word of Exhortation unto this Honourable Aſſembly. * Thoſe things which God *worketh* in us and beſtoweth upon us by his *Grace*, he alſo *requireth* of us by his *Command*: Sometimes he *promiſeth* to turne us, ſometimes he *commandeth* us to turne to him: Sometimes he *biddeth* us put away ſinne, and ſometimes he *promiſeth* to take it away from us. * In the one ſhewing us what is our *dutie*, and in the other where is our *help*. And as this latter conſideration calleth upon our *Faith* to *pray*. So the former upon our *obedience* to *worke*. I ſhall therefore (Right Honourable) humbly offer a double Exhortation unto all of you.

* Ezek. 36. 26. Ier. 31. 18. Ezek. 18. 31. Iſa. 1. 16. Heb 8. 12.

* *Lex Iubet, Gratia Iuvat. Aug. Epiſt. 95. & Epiſt. 144. & lib. 3. contr. 2. Ep. pelag. cap. 7. Petamus ut det, quod ut habeamus Iubet. in Exod. quæſt. 55. de Bono viduitatis. cap. 17.*

Firſt,

Firſt, that every one of you would ſeriouſly endeavour to take away *all iniquity* from his own perſon. And unto this there lyeth upon you a double Obligation; one with relation to the ſafety of your own ſoules, for whatever other honour, wealth, wiſdome, learning, intereſt a man hath beſides, if ſin have the predominancy, they are but Satans Magazine, and that man his ſervant to imploy them againſt God that gave them: and the more mercies any man hath been truſted withall, the heavyer judgement will be poured out upon the breach of that truſt: Better be a *wooden veſſell* to hold Wine, then a *Silver veſſell* to hold Excrements; better be a *Beggar* with the treaſure of Gods Grace, then a *Prince* with the load of a mans own ſins.

But there is a *further tie* upon you, with relation unto the ſucceſſe of that Honourable imployment whereunto you are called. *Ita nati eſtis, ut bona malaque veſtra ad Rempub: pertineant.* God will be ſanctified in all thoſe that draw neare unto him, as well in civill, as in ſacred Adminiſtrations. It is very hard for a perſon in whom ſin rules, to be conſtantly faithfull to any publique and honourable ſervice. For *Grace only eſtabliſheth the heart*, Heb. 13. 9. *Achitophel*, a man of great wiſdome falls from *David*, *Joab*, a man of great valour, falls from *Solomon*. And admit he be faithfull, yet the ſin of his heart ſends out a prohibition to the wiſdome of his head, and the labour of his hand: he that will be a fit veſſell for his Maſters uſes, muſt firſt of all *purge himſelfe*. 2 Tim. 2. 21. As we firſt cleanſe a veſſell before we uſe it. When *Joſhua* was to negotiate a publique Reformation, and to adminiſter a publique ſervice, his filthy garment muſt be taken from him, and he muſt be cloathed with change of rayment, *Zach.* 3. 4, 7. Let every one of you make his publique ſervice one argument more then he had before,

Tacit. Annal. lib. 4.

for his neceſſary reformation, and let the piety of your lives beare witneſſe to the integrity of your honourable undertakings.

Secondly, As you muſt take away ſin from your ſelves, ſo make it your principall work to *take away iniquity out of the Land*; Liberty, Property, Priviledges are ſacred and pretious things, not to be in the leaſt manner betrayed, yea in ſome ſenſe we may look upon them, as the Jewes upon their *Maſſora, tanquam legis & pietatis ſepem.* As a fence and mound unto Religion it ſelfe. *Arbitrary* government would quickly be tampering in ſacred things, becauſe corruption in the Church is marvellouſly ſubſervient and advantagious to corruption in the State. But the moſt Orient Pearle of this Kingdome is our *Religion*, and the bittereſt enemies unto that, are our ſins. Theſe are the ſnuffes that dimme our *Candleſtick*, and threaten the removall of it; theſe the *leaven* that defile our *Paſſeovers*, and urge God to paſſe away and depart from us; theſe the obſtructions between his ſacred Majeſty and you, and between both, and the happineſſe of the Kingdome. Thinke ſeriouſly what wayes may be moſt effectuall to purge out this leaven out of the Land. The principall *ſacrificing knife* which kills and mortifies ſin, is the *Word of God*, and the knowledge of it. It would have been a great unhappineſſe to the Common-wealth of Learning, if *Caligula* had (as he endeavoured) deprived the world of the writings of *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Livy*. But O! what an Egyptian calamity is it, to have in this Sun-ſhine of the Goſpell, thouſands of perſons and families (as I doubt not but upon enquiry it would appeare) without the writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles. A Chriſtian *ſouldier* without his *ſword*, a Chriſtian *builder* without his *rule* and ſquare, a Chriſtian calling without the inſtruments and ballances of the Sanctury belonging

R. Akiba in puke Aboth.

Sueton. in Caliz. cap. 34.

belonging to it. O therefore that every Pariſh had an indowment fit for a learned, laborious and worthy Paſtor, and Paſtors worthy of ſuch endowments, that proviſion were made that every family might have a Bible in it, and (if by Law it might poſſibly be procured) the exerciſes of Religion therewithall, this would be the ſureſt Magazine to ſecure the happineſſe of a Kingdome: that all reproachfull titles, which the devill uſeth as ſcarecrows and whiflers to keep back company from preſſing in upon Chriſts Kingdome, were by Law proſcribed; That ſcandalous ſins were by the awfulneſſe and ſeverity of Diſcipline more blaſted and brought to ſhame. That the Lords houſe were more frequented, and his day more ſanctified, and his Ordinances more reverenced, and his Miniſters, which *teach the good knowledge of the Lord*, more encouraged then ever heretofore. In one word, that all the ſeverall *fountaines* of the Common-wealth were ſetled in a ſound and flouriſhing conſtitution. That in every place we might ſee Piety the Elme to every other Vine, the ſupporter to every other profeſſion. *Learning* adorned with Piety, and *Law* adminiſtred with Piety, and *Counſels* managed with Piety, and *Trade* regulated with Piety, and the *Plow* followed with Piety. That when *Miniſters* fight againſt ſin, with the ſword of Gods word, you who are the Nobles and Gentry of the Land, would ſecond them, and frowne upon it too; a frowne of yours may ſometimes doe as much ſervice to Chriſt, as a Sermon of ours. And he cannot but take it very unkindely from you, if you will not beſtow your countenance on him, who beſtowed his blood on you. That you would let the ſtrictneſſe of your lives, and the piety of your examples put wickedneſſe out of countenance, and make it appeare (as indeed it is) a baſe and a ſordid thing.

If we would thus ſadly ſet our ſelves againſt the ſins of the Land, no power, no malice, no policies ſhould ſtand between us and Gods Mercies; Religion would flouriſh, and peace would ſettle, and trade would revive, and the hearts of men would be re-united, and the Church be as a City compacted, and this Nation would continue to be as it hath been, like the Garden of *Eden*, a mirrour of proſperity and happineſſe to other people; and *God would prevent us* in the ſecond part of our Petition, with the bleſſing of *goodneſſe*, as ſoon as ever iniquity were removed, he would *doe us good*; which is the ſecond thing here directed to pray for, *Receive us graciouſly.*

Gen.43.34. Pſal.68.19. Epheſ.4.8.

In the originall it is קַח טוֹב *Take good*, to wit, to beſtow upon us; ſo *Taking* is ſometimes uſed for *Giving*: He *received gifts* for men, ſo in the Pſalme, he *gave gifts* to men, ſo in the Apoſtle: and it is not improbable, that the Prophet here ſecretly leadeth us to Chriſt the Mediator, who firſt receiveth gifts from his Father, and then poureth them forth upon his Church. *Acts* 2.23.

The meaning then is. Lord when thou haſt pardoned, weakned, mortified ſin, go on with thy mercy, and being in Chriſt graciouſly reconciled unto us, give further evidence of thy Fatherly affection, by beſtowing portions upon us. They ſhall not be caſt away upon unthankfull perſons, we will *render the Calves of our lips*, they ſhall not be beſtowed upon thoſe that need them not, or, that know where elſe to provide themſelves. It is true, we have gone to the Aſſyrian, we have taken our *horſes* inſtead of our *prayers*, and gone about to finde out good; we have been ſo fooliſh as to think that the Idols which have been beholding to our own hands for any ſhape that is in them, could be inſtead of hands, and of God unto us, to help us in our need: but now we know that men of *high degree are but a lie*, that *horſes* are but a *vanity*, that

Pſal.62.7. 33.17. 20.7. 1 Cor.8.4.

that an *Idoll is nothing*, and therefore can give nothing. That power belongeth unto thee, none elſe *can do it*, That *mercy* belongeth unto thee, none elſe *will doe it*, therefore ſince in thee only the *fatherleſſe finde mercy*, bee thou pleaſed to do us good.

We will conſider the words, firſt, *abſolutely*, as a ſingle prayer by themſelves. Secondly, *relatively*, in their connexion, and with reſpect to the ſcope of the place.

From the former conſideration, we obſerve, That *all the good we have is from God*; he only muſt be ſought unto for it; we have none in *our ſelves*, I know that in me, that is, *in my fleſh dwelleth no good*, Rom. 7. 18. we can neither * thinke, nor ſpeake, nor doe it.

* Gen. 6. 5. 2 Cor. 3. 5. Mat. 12. 34. Pſal. 14. 3.

And miſſing it in *our ſelves*, it is all in vaine to ſeek for it in *things below* our ſelves.

They can provide for our back and belly (and yet not that neither without God: the root out of which the fruits of the earth doe grow, is above in heaven, the Genealogie of Corne, and Wine is reſolved into God. *Hoſea* 2. 22.) But if you goe to your Lands, or Houſes, or Treaſuries for phyſick for a ſick ſoule, or a guilty conſcience, they will all return an *Ignoramus* to that enquiry, ſalvation doth not grow in the furrowes of the field, neither are there in the earth to be found any Mines or harveſts of Grace or Comfort.

In God alone is the a *fountaine of life*, he that only b *is good*, he only c *doth good*; when we have wearied our ſelves with having recourſe to ſecond cauſes here at laſt, like the wandering Dove, we muſt arrive for reſt: *Many will ſay, who will ſhew us any good, Do thou lift up the light of thy countenance upon us*, Pſal. 4. 6. From him alone comes every good gift, *Jam.* 1. 17. whether *Temporall*, it is his d bleſſing that maketh the creature able to comfort us: The woman touched the hem of Chriſts garment,

a Pſal. 36. 9. b Mat. 19. 17. c Pſal. 119 68.

d Prov. 10. 22. Mat. 4. 4. 1 Tim 4. 5.

ment, but the vertue went not out of the garment, but out of Chriſt. *Luke* 8.44. or whether *Spiritnall*, ſanctified [a] *faculties*, ſanctified [b] *habits*, ſanctified [c] *motions*, glorious [d] *relations*, in Predeſtination, Adoption, and Chriſtian Liberty: excellent [e] *gifts*, heavenly [f] *comforts*, all and [g] only from him. And that *without change* and alteration: he doth not do good one while, & evill another, but goodneſſe is his proper and native operation; he is not the *Author of ſin*, that entered by the *devill*: He is not the author of death, that entered by ſin, and [h] *our deſtruction is of our ſelves*. And therefore though the [i] Prophet ſay, *Is there any evill in the City, which the Lord hath not done?* Yet, he doth it not but only as it is *bonum juſtitia*, *good* in order to his glory: For it is juſt with God, that they who run from the *order* of his *Commands*, ſhould fall under the *order* of his *Providence*, and doing willingly what he forbids, ſhould unwillingly ſuffer what he threatneth.

a 1 Joh. 5.20. Phil. 2.13. Jer. 32.39. Rom. 5.5.
b Eph. 2.8,9,10 Col. 2.11.12.
c 2 Tim. 2,25. Phil. 2.13.
d Eph. 1.5.6. Joh. 1.12.
e 1 Cor. 12.6.
f 2 Cor. 1.3. Rom. 15.13.
g Concil. Milevit. can. 3.4.5. Concil. Arauſican. ſecund. Aug. de grat. & lib. Arb. ca. 21.
h Hoſea 13.9.
i Amos 3.6. Iſa. 45.7. Vid. Tertull. cont. Marcion. l. 2. cap. 14.

In one word, God is the *Author* of All *good*, by his grace *working* it: the *Permitter* of all *evill*, by his *patience* enduring it: the *Orderer* and diſpoſer of both, by his *mercy* rewarding the one, by his *juſtice* revenging the other, and by his *wiſdome* directing both to the ends of his eternall glory.

This ſerveth to diſcover the free and *ſole working* of Grace in our firſt converſion, and the *continued working of Grace* in our further ſanctification: whatſoever is good in us *habitually*, as Grace inhering, or *actually*, as Grace working, is from him alone as the Author of it. For though it be certain, that when we will and doe, our ſelves are agents, yet it is ſtill under and from him, [k] *Certum eſt nos facere cum facimus, ſed ille facit ut faciamus*, as the great Champion of Grace ſpeaketh; by Grace wee are that we are, we doe what we doe in Gods ſervice: Veſſels have no wine, bags have no money in them, but what

k Aug. de grat. & li. arb. ca. 16. de grat. Chriſti cap. 25. cont. 2. ep. Pelag. li. 4. c. 6. de perfect. Juſtitiæ ca. 19.

what the Merchant putteth in: the bowles of the Candleſticks had no oyle but that which dropped from the Olive branches.

Other [a] things which ſeek no higher perfection then is to be found within the compaſſe of their own *nature*, may by the guidance and activity of the ſame *nature*, attaine thereunto: but man aſpiring to a *divine* happineſſe, can never attaine thereunto but by a *divine* ſtrength: [b] impoſſible it is for any man to *enjoy God without God*.

The truth of this point ſheweth it in five gradations.

1. By *Grace* our [c] *mindes* are *enlightened* to know and believe him: for *Spirituall things are ſpiritually diſcerned*.

2. By *Grace* our [d] *hearts* are *inclined* to love and obey him, for ſpirituall things are ſpiritually *approved*: Hee only by his Almighty and ineffable operation, worketh in us, [e] *Et veras Revelationes, & bonas voluntates*.

3. By *Grace* our [f] *lives* are enabled to *work* what our hearts do love, without which, though we ſhould will, yet we cannot performe, no more then the knife which hath a good edge is able actually to cut, till moved by the hand.

4. By *Grace* our good works are carryed on unto [g] *perfection*. *Adam* wanting the Grace of *perſeverance*, fell from innocency it ſelfe [h]: It is not ſufficient for us that he *prevent* and *excite* us to *will*, that he *co-operate* and *aſſiſt* us to *work*; except he *continually follow* and *ſupply* us with a *reſidue of ſpirit* to perfect and *finiſh* what we ſet about. All our workes are begun, continued, and ended in him.

Laſtly, By *Grace* our perſeverance is *crowned*: for our beſt [i] workes could not endure the triall of juſtice, if God ſhould enter into judgement with us; Grace enableth us to work, and Grace rewardeth us for working, Grace be-

[a] Aug. de civ. Dei lib. 12. c. 9. *Field of the Church* l. 1. c. 2.

[b] Aug. li. de patientia. c. 18.

[c] 1 Cor. 2. 12. 14. Mat. 11. 27. Jer. 31. 34. Vid. Aug. de grat. Chriſti. li. 1. c. 13. 14. & ep. 143.

[d] Joh. 6. 45. Ezek. 36. 26. Jer. 32. 39.

[e] Aug. de grat. Chriſti. c. 24.

[f] Heb. 13. 20. Rom. 7. 18. Phil. 2. 13.

[g] 1 Theſſ. 5. 23. 1 Pet. 5. 10. Jud. ver. 24. Joh. 17. 15.

[h] Vid. Aug. Enchirid. c. 32. de grat. & lib. arb. c. 6. & 17. Peto ut accipiam, & cum accepero rurſus peto. Hieron. ad Cteſiphont.

[i] Pſal. 143. 2. Iſay 64. 6.

a Phil 1 6.* Heb. 12.2. beginneth [a], and Grace finiſheth both our faith and ſalvation. The *work* of holineſſe is nothing but *Grace*, and the *reward* of holineſſe is nothing but *Grace for Grace*.

Secondly, this teacheth us how to know Good from Evill in our ſelves; what we look on as *good*, we muſt ſee how we have derived it from God; the more recourſe we have had unto God by prayer, and faith, and ſtudy of his will, in the procurement of it; the more *goodneſſe* we ſhall finde in it. A thing done may be *good* in the *ſubſtance* of the work, and yet *evill* in the *manner* of doing it; as the *ſubſtance* of a veſſell may be *ſilver*, but the *uſe* ſordid. *Jehu* his zeale was rewarded as an act of *Juſtice*, *quoad ſubſtantiam operis*, and it was puniſhed too as an act of *policy*, *quoad modum*, for the perverſe end. A thing which I ſee in the night may ſhine, and that ſhining proceed from nothing but rottenneſſe. We muſt not meaſure our ſelves by the *matter* of things done: for there may be * *Malum opus in bona materia*. *Doeg* prayes, and *Herod* heares, and Hypocrites faſt, and Phariſees preach: but when we would know the † *goodneſſe* of our workes, looke to the *fountaine*, whether they proceed from the Father of lights, by the ſpirit of love, and the Grace of Chriſt, from humble, penitent, filiall, heavenly diſpoſitions; nothing will carry the ſoule unto God, but that which commeth from him. Our Communion with the Father, and the Son, is the triall and foundation of all our goodneſſe.

Phil. 1. 15, 16.

2 King. 10. 30. Hoſea 1. 4.

* 1 Sam. 21. 7. Mar. 6. 20. Act. 24. 25. Iſa. 58 3. Mat 6. 16. Mat. 23. 2, 3.

† R. but alius ædificabit in Imo poſitum fundamentum; *Eccleſia vero in Imo poſita tollit in cælum, fundamentum ergo noſtrum ibi poſitum eſt.* Aug. Enarrat. 1 in Pſal. 29.

Thirdly, This ſhould exceedingly abaſe us in our own eyes, and ſtaine all the pride, and caſt downe all the Plumes of fleſh and blood, when we ſeriouſly conſider that in us, as now [a] degenerated from our originall, there is no *good* to be found, our [b] *wine become water*, and our *Silver droſſe*, as our Saviour ſaith of the devill; when he lies [c] he ſpeakes *de ſuo*, of his own, ſo when we doe evill, we

a Jer. 2. 21. b Iſa. 1. 22. Ezek. 22. 18. c John 8. 44.

we worke, *de noſtro*, of our owne, and *ſecundum hominem*, as the Apoſtle ſpeakes, *According unto man*, 1 Cor. 3. 3. Luſts are [a] *our own*, our very [b] *members* to that body of ſin which the [c] Apoſtle calleth the *old man*, with which it is as impoſſible to doe any good, as for a Toad to ſpit Cordials.

[a] Rom. 1. 24. Jam. 1. 14. [b] Col. 3. 5. [c] Eph 4. 22.

Men are apt to glory of their good hearts and intentions, only becauſe they cannot ſearch them. *Jer.* 17. 11. And being *carnall* themſelves, to entertaine none but *carnall notions* of Gods ſervice. But if they knew the purity and jealouſie of God, and their owne impotency to anſwer ſo holy a will, they would lay their hands upon their mouthes, and with *Job*, *abhor themſelves*, and with *Iſaiah*, bewaile the uncleanneſſe of their lips, and with *Moſes*, feare & *quake*, as not being *able to endure the things that are commanded*, and with *Joſhua*, acknowledge that they *cannot ſerve God, becauſe he is holy*: they would then remember that the Law of God is a *Law of fire*, Deut. 33. 2. and the Tribunall of God, a *Tribunall of fire*, Ezek. 1. 27. that the pleadings of God with ſinners, are in *flames of fire*, Iſa. 66. 15, 16. that the tryall of all our workes ſhall be by *fire*, 1 Cor. 3. 13. that the God before whom we muſt appeare, is a *conſuming fire*, Heb. 12. 29. Goe now and bring thy ſtraw and ſtubble, thy drowſie and ſluggiſh devotions, thy fickle and flattering repentance, thy formall & demure ſervices unto the fire, to the *Law* to meaſure them, to the *Judge* to cenſure them; nay, now carry them to thine *owne conſcience*, and tell me whether that will not paſſe the Fathers verdict upon them, *Sordet in conſpectu Judicis, quod fulget in conſpectu operantis*, That which is faire in thine eye, is filthy in Gods.

Job 42. 5, 6. Iſa. 6. 5. Heb. 12. 20. Joſh. 24. 19. *Greg.*

Laſtly, this ſerveth for Exhortation unto theſe particular duties, Firſt, unto *Patience* and meekneſſe under any

evill that God may bring upon us, and that not barely, becauſe he doth us good in other things, which was *Jobs* argument, *Shall we receive good from the Lord, and not evill?* Job 2. 10. But further, becauſe the very evills that come upon us, are oftentimes by him intended for good, as *Joſeph* told his brethren, *Gen.* 50. 20. We are not angry with the * Phyſitian when he launceth, dyeteth, and reſtraineth us of our will; he denyeth us our will, that we may have our will: a ſick man is many times moſt faithfully ſerved, when he is croſſed. I lop my trees, bruiſe my grapes, grinde my corne, to fit it for the ends whereunto it tendeth. Gods *end* is mercifull when his *hand* is heavy, as St. *Johns* Roll was, † *Sweet in the mouth but bitter in the belly*, ſo troubles may be bitter to the palate, but profitable to the Conſcience: like hot ſpices that bite the tongue, but comfort the ſtomack.

* *Medicina ea-dem arte prodit.* Sen. ep. 89. *Quæ per iuſtam curationem adhibentur, conſonant curationis effectui: iuſta autem ſectatur, & ſi ſe dolori ingeniat, ſuper ea tamen quæ ſunt grata communicat.* Tertul. de penit. cap. 10.

† Rev. 10. 9. Heb. 12. 11. Iſa. 27. 9. 48. 10.

And as it dictateth *patience* in *ſuffering evill*, ſo in *doing our duties*, though we * ſuffer contempt & reproaches for it. If we were to receive our rewards from men, their frownes might diſcourage us: but when we have done Gods will, God himſelfe will be our reward, and make his promiſes a comfort unto us. *Moſes* and *Aaron*, though their whole imployments were for the good of Iſrael, were yet repayed with murmuring and diſcontent, and the people like children, *qui cibum ſumunt, ſed flentes* (to uſe the ſimilitude of the Orator in *Ariſtotle*) repined at the food which their prayers obtained for them, yet nothing diſmayed them from their duty. *Etiam poſt naufragium tentantur Maria*; *The woman of Canaan* prayes on when ſhe is denyed, and *Jacob holds* with his hands when his thigh is lamed: our firſt care muſt be to be in our way, to be doing our duties, and then though (as *Solomon* ſpeakes) we ſhould meet a Lion in our way, we muſt not be diſmayed, for *Angels* are ſtronger than Lions, and he hath

* *Quiſquis eo loco durabat fame mori, volens ad hanc mercedem nacta.* Auguſt. contr. literas Petiliani li. 3. cap. 7.

Rhetor. l. 3. c. 4.

Sen. ep. 81.

hath given his Angels charge over us, to beare us in our wayes, *Psal.* 91. 11. Yea, *Whilest we are with him, hee himselfe is with us*, 2 Chron. 15. 2. so that the way of the Lord is the surest and safest walk that any man can have, *The way of the Lord is strength to the upright.* Prov. 10. 29.

Secondly, unto *Humility*, if thou be a vessell of *gold*, & thy brother but of *wood*, be not high minded, *it is* [a] *God that maketh thee to differ*, the more bounty God shewes, the more humility he requires. Those * Mines that are richest are deepest, those Starres that are highest seeme smallest, the goodliest buildings have the lowest foundations; the more God honoreth men, the more they should humble themselves, the more the fruit, the lower the branch on which it growes, *pride* is ever the companion of *emptinesse*. O how full was the Apostle, yet how [b] low was his language of himselfe, *least* of Saints, *last* of Apostles, *chiefe* of sinners, no *sufficiency to think*, *no abilities to doe*, all that he is, he is *by grace*; thus *Humility* teacheth us in our *Operations* to draw *strength* from God, and not from our selves, in our intentions to seek glory for God, not for our selves; in our *graces* to ascribe their goodnesse to God, and their weakenesse to our selves.

Thirdly, unto dependance and continuall recourse to God, as the fountaine of all good, to keep an open and an unobstructed passage between him and our soul, say not, I have light enough in my house, I may now shut up my windowes, for light within hath dependance upon immediate supplies from the Sun without, and so hath grace upon continuall supplies from the Sun of Righteousnesse. God teacheth even the Husbandman to plow and thresh, *Isa.* 28. 26. In these things his direction is to be implored: Meddle not then with great and high affaires, without recourse unto him: His name is Counsellor, and his testimonies are Counsellors, let them be the rule and

[a] 1 Cor. 4. 7. Rom. 11. 20. *Ille discernit qui unde discernatis impertit, pœnam debitam removendo indebitam gratiam largiendo.* Aug. contr. 2. ep. Pelag. l. 2. cap 7.

* *Opulentissima metalla quorum in alio latent venæ.* Sen. ep. 23. *Altissima flumina minimo sono labuntur.* Q. Curt. l. 7.

[b] Eph. 3. 8. 1 Cor. 15. 8. 1 Tim. 1. 15. 2 Cor. 3. 5. Rom. 7. 18.

Vide *Aug.* de grat. & lib. arb. cap. 8.

Iſa.9.6. Pſal.119.24. * Liv.lib.26. A.Gell.l.7.c.1. Valer.Max. lib.1.cap.2. † 2 Sam 15. 26,31. Iſa.37.3,4,15. 2 Chro. 20.6. Nehem.2.2,4.

ſquare of all your debates. It is * recorded for the honor of *Scipio*, that he went firſt to the Capitoll, and then to the Senate. But you have more noble examples. † *David* is put to flight, he flies and prayes: *Ezechiah* is at a ſtand in all his Counſels, he ſends to the Prophet and prayes: *Jehoſaphat* is in great diſtreſſe, and knowes not what in the world to doe, but he prayes: *Nehemiah* is ſore afraid, and hath a Petition to make to the King, but firſt hee makes one to God, and prayes: when ever the children are come to the birth, and there is no ſtrength to bring forth, all the world cannot furniſh you with ſuch another Midwife as prayer, and recourſe to God; it hath delivered even graves of their dead. Therefore let me beſeech you, when ever you meet with ſuch difficulties as put you to a ſtand, that you know not what to adviſe or reſolve upon, goe to your Cloſſets, proſtrate your ſelues at his Throne, whoſe honour it is to be ſeen in the Mount, beg counſell of him in whom are hid all the Treaſures of wiſdome and knowledge. Let it appeare that you ſeeke his face to direct you, and his glory as the ſupreame end and deſigne of all your conſultations, and then try whether he be not a preſent help in trouble, and whether hee will not magnifie the wiſdome of his Counſell in the perplexity of yours.

Fourthly, unto *fidelity*, in the uſe of any good which God beſtowes upon us, for God gives not talents to men barely to enrich men, but to imploy them; therefore as the Veſſell hath one paſſage to let the Wine into it ſelfe, and another to poure it out into the Flagon, ſo we ſhould not only fill our ſelves by dependance upon God, but ſhould ſupply our ſelves by love and ſervice unto our brethren.

Right Honourable, This Nation hath put into your hands all that is outwardly deare unto them, their perſons,

ſons, poſterities, liberties, eſtates; In theſe ſad and wofull diſtractions, they looke upon you as binders, and healers, and ſtanders in the gap, and repayrers of the waſt-places, God hath called you unto an high and a great truſt; and the ſad diſtempers of the Church and State, the diſtreſſes and deſolations of Ireland, the doubts and feares, the ſhiverings and convulſions of England, and in theſe two the intereſt of All the Proteſtant Churches call upon you, like the man of Macedonia in Saint *Pauls* viſion, *Act. 16.9. Come and help us.* Now in this great ſtraite, when the children are come to the birth, and there is no ſtrength to bring forth, ſtir up the graces of God in you, call together all that is within you to call upon his name, improve the uttermoſt of your intereſts in him for the State of his Church, mannage every one of his gifts to the cloſing of thoſe miſerable breaches which threaten an inundation of calamity upon us all; wiſdome, and learning, and piety, and prudence, are healing things: Remember (and O that God would put into the hearts of this whole Kingdome, from the Throne to the Plow to remember) the fate of a divided Kingdome from the mouth of truth it ſelfe; O that we would all remember that miſunderſtandings, and jealouſies, and diviſions of heart are an high evidence of Gods diſpleaſure, and that *through the wrath of the Lord of Hoſts, a Land is darkned*, and as it were infatuated, when *Manaſſa is againſt Ephraim, and Ephraim againſt Manaſſa, and every man eateth the fleſh of his own Arme.* Eſa. 7. 9. 21. O let us all remember what it coſt *Shechem* and *Abimelech*, what it coſt *Benjamin*, and the other Tribes, even the loſſe of threeſcore and five thouſand men: remember *Priamus* and his children will laugh, Babylon will clap their hands and wag their head; no ſuch time for *Shiſhak* the Egyptian to trouble Jeruſalem, as when Iſrael is divided.

divided. 2 *Chron.* 12. 2. Let it never be said of Gods owne people, that they are fallen into the curse of Midianites, and Ammorites, and Edomites, and Philistimes to help forward the destruction of one another. O that God would give this whole Nation hearts to consider these things, that he would put a spirit of peace and resolved unity into the mindes of this whole people, to bee true to their own happinesse, and by how much the greater are the subtilties of men to divide them, to be so much the more firmly united in prayers to God, and in concord between themselves, that they may not expose their persons, estates, posterities, and (which is dearest of all) their Religion, to the crafty and bloody advantages of the enemies of the Protestant Churches, who in humane view could have no way to overthrow them, but by their own dissentions.

I have done with this point, and shall conclude all with a very few words of the next, which is drawne from the scope and connexion of the prayer suggested, to the judgement threatned, It is this;

When temporall judgements are felt or feared, Gods people should pray for spirituall mercies; Humane sorrows cannot overcome where the joy of the Lord is our strength. Thus the Lord seems to have taught his Apostle, he was under some pressing discomfort, the messenger of Satan sent to buffet him; he prayes for particular deliverance, and God answers him *non ad voluntatem sed ad utilitatem*, implying a direction to all such prayers, *My grace is sufficient for thee*, 2 *Cor.* 12 9. When thou feelest a thorne in thy flesh, pray for grace in thy heart, the buffets of Satan cannot hurt, where the grace of God doth suffice, so he directeth in time of plague, and famine, to pray, and to seek his face, 2 *Chron.* 7. 14. to look more after his *favour* than our *owne ease*, to be more solicitous for the recovering

Bonus qui non tribuit quod volumus, ut tribuat quod malimus. Aug. ep. 34. *Exaudiens Cardinem desiderii ejus, non curasti quod tunc petebat, ut in me faceres quod semper petebat.* Conf. li. 5. cap. 8.

ing of his *Love*, then for the removing of his *Rod*. This is a true character of a filiall diſpoſition, *In the way of thy judgements*, even in that way, wherein wicked men ſling thee off, and give thee over, and quarrell with thee, and repine againſt thee, even in the way of thy judgements *doe we waite for thee, and the deſire of our ſoule* is more to *thy Name*, than to our owne deliverance, *Eſay* 26.8. true Diſciples follow Chriſt, more for his Doctrine than his loaves, and are willing to chooſe rather affliction than iniquity. Joh.6.26. Job 36.21. 35.9,10.

The grace and favour of God is *life*, *Pſal.*30.5. *better than life*, *Pſal.*63.3. and therefore muſt needs be the moſt ſoveraigne Antidote to preſerve, and to beare up the ſoul above all other diſcomforts, whereas if he be angry, no other helps are able to releeve us. Braſſe and Iron can fence me againſt a Bullet or a Sword, but if I were to be caſt into a furnace of fire, it would help to torment me, if into a pit of water, it would help to ſinke me: Now our God is a *conſuming fire*, and his breath a *ſtreame of brimſtone*. Humane plaiſters can never cure the wounds which God makes: where he is the Smiter, he muſt bee the Healer too. *Hoſ.*6.1. All the Candles in a Country are not able to make day there, till the Sun come: and all the contents of the world are not able to make comfort to the ſoule, till the *Sun of Righteouſneſſe ariſe with healing in his wings*. In a Mine, if a damp come, it is in vaine to truſt to your lights, they will burne blew, and dimme, and at laſt vaniſh, you muſt make haſt to bee drawne upward if you will be ſafe. When God ſharpneth an affliction with his diſpleaſure, it is vaine to truſt to worldly ſuccours, your deſires and affections muſt bee on *things above*, if you will be relieved. There is no remedy, no refuge from Gods anger, but to Gods grace: blood-letting * is a cure of bleeding, and a burne a cure Heb.12.29. Iſa.30.33.

* *Calores caloribus enervando deprimimus & ſanguinis fluxum deſuſa inſuper vellera reprimimus.* Tertul.

againſt

againſt a burne; and running into God is the way to eſcape him, as to cloſe and get in with him that would ſtrike you, doth avoid the blow. In a tempeſt at Sea, it is very dangerous to ſtrike to the ſhore, the ſafeſt way is to have Sea-roome, and to keep in the Maine ſtill: there is no landing againſt any tempeſt of Gods judgements at any ſhore of worldly or carnall policies, but the way is to keep with him ſtill; if he be with us in the Ship, the windes and the ſea will at laſt be rebuked.

This then ſhould ſerve to humble us for our carnall prayers in times of judgement, ſuch as the hungry Raven, or the dry and gaping earth makes when we *aſſemble our ſelves for Corne and Wine*, for peace and ſafety, and be in the meane time careleſſe whether God receive us graciouſly or no. God much complaines of it, when hee ſlew Iſrael, the rack made him roare, the rod made him flatter, but all was to be rid of affliction: It was the prayer of *nature* for *eaſe*, not of the *Spirit* for *grace*, for their *heart was not right*, Pſal. 78. 34, 37. The like he complaines of after the Captivity: they faſted and prayed in the fifth moneth (wherein the City and Temple had been burned) and in the ſeaventh moneth (wherein *Gedeliah* had been ſlain, and the remnant carryed captive, but they did it not out of ſincerity toward God, but out of policy for themſelves, and this he proves by their behaviour after their returne. If you had indeed ſought me, you *would have remembred the words of the Prophets, when Jeruſalem was inhabited before*, and being returned, would now have put them to practiſe. But Jeruſalem inhabited after the Captivity, is juſt like Jeruſalem inhabited before the Captivity; ſo that from hence it appeares, that all their weeping and ſeparating was not for pious, but politique reaſons, *Zach.* 7. 5, 6. And there is nothing under heaven more hatefull, or more reproachfull unto God, then

Jer. 51. 12. 41. 1.

to

to make Religion ſerve turnes, to have piety lacquey and dance attendance, and be a drudge, and groom to private ends, to make it a cloak to policy, a varniſh to rotten wood, Silver, droſſe to a broken Potſheard.

O then, when we weep and ſeparate our ſelves, let us not think to mock God with empty ceremonies of Repentan e, let us not aſſemble our ſelves, only to flatter away the rod from our back, and to get peace and ſecurity to our own perſons, and then let the favour of God, the power of his Grace, the comforts of his Spirit be as unregarded as before: (as if we faſted and prayed only for our backs and bellies, not for our Conſciences or converſations) for be we well aſſured, he who doth not aske the things which he ought, ſhall not obtain the things which he asks: ſuch a prayer begs nothing but a deniall.

We have now many faſts together, prayed for making up our breaches, for repairing our ruines, for compoſing our diſtractions, for reducing this Kingdome unto an happy conſtitution, for a right underſtanding between the King and his great Counſel. Theſe prayers we have not found yet returne like *Noahs* Dove, with an Olive branch, a gra ious anſwer unto us again. What's the reaſon? Where's the obſtruction? Is not he a God that heareth prayes? Is it not his Title? doth he not glory in it? Certainly mercies ſtop not at God, but at us. *We are not ſtraitned in him, but in our own bowels:* If there come but a little light into a room, the defect is not in the Sun, but in the narrowneſſe of the window; if a veſſell fill but ſlowly, the fault is not in the emptineſſe of the Fountain, but in the ſmalneſſe of the pipe. If mercies ripen ſlowly, or ſtop at any time in the way, it is not becauſe they are unwilling to come to us, but becauſe we are unfit to enjoy them. Our prayers doubtleſſe, in many of us, have not been words taken from him, but from our own carnall dictates.

We would fain have things well in our Country, but have we hitherto looked after our conſciences? The diſtractions without us, have they driven us to conſider the diſtempers within, or to deſire the things above? The unſetledneſſe of peace in the Kingdome, hath it awakened us to ſecure our peace with God? We

Semper dies mali in seculo, boni in Deo. Aug. in Psal. 33.

would fain have better times, but have we yet laboured for better hearts? we would fain have a right understanding betweene the King & his great Counsell, but have we yet sadly set about it, to have a more clear & sweet Communion between us & our God? we long to see more good laws, but are we yet come to the care of good lives? Every one cries out, who will shew us any good? but how few think on the light of Gods countenance?

Hence, hence (Beloved) is the miscariage of all our Prayers. If wee would seeke Gods kingdome, wee are promised other things by way of overplus and Accession, as he that buyeth a Treasury of Jewells hath the Cabinet into the Bargaine. But when we place our kingdome in outward comforts, and let our daily bread shut out all the other five Petitions out of our Prayers; no wonder if the promises of this life, which are annexed unto godlinesse, doe not answer those Prayers wherein godlinesse is neglected. It were preposterous to begin the building of an house at the Roofe and not at the Foundation. Piety is the foundation of prosperitie. If you would have your *children like plants and like polished stones, your Garners full, your Cattle plenteous, no complayning in your streets* [a]. If you would have the King happy, & the Church happy, and the State happy, & peace and prosperitie flourish againe. Let our chiefe prayer be, Lord make us a happy people by being *our God*. Give us thy selfe, thy grace, thy favour, give us renewed hearts, and reformed lives; let not our sinnes confute, and outcry, and belie our prayers, and pray them backe againe without an Answer: And when we seeke thee and thy Christ above all, we know that with him thou wilt freely give us all other things. The spirituall good things which we beg, will either remove, or shelter and defend us from the outward evill things which we suffer.

Secondly, this serveth for an instruction unto us touching a sanctified use of Gods judgements, or threatnings: when wee *learne obedience* as Christ did, *by the things which we suffer, Heb.* 5.8. when παθήματα are μαθήματα that we are chastened & taught together, *Psal.* 94.12. when sufferings doe quicken spirituall desires, & the more troubles we find in our *way*, the more love we have

a Psal. 144. 12. 15.

Quicquid mihi praeter illum est, dulce non est, quicquid mihi vult dare Dominus meus, auferat totum, est se mihi det. Aug. Enarrat. 2. in Ps. 26.

Hic quod vinum est, non potest esse panis, quod tibi Lux est, non potest esse potus; Deus tuus totum tibi Erit. Manducabis Eum ne Esurias, bibes Eum ne sitias, illuminaberis ab eo ne sis Caecus, fulcieris ab eo, ne deficias. Ib. in Psal. 36.

have to our *Countrey*: when we can ſay, *all this is come upon us, and yet we have not forgotten thee, Pſal.* 44. 17, 18. when we can ſerve God as well in *plowing and breaking the clods*, as in *treading out the Corne, Hoſ.* 10. 11. When with *Jonah* wee can delight in him even in the Whales belly, and ſuffer not our love of him to bee quenched with all the waters of the Sea. When we can truely ſay to him; Lord love me, and then doe what thou wilt unto me, let me feele thy *rod*, rather then forfeit thine *affection*: when we can looke through the Anger of his chaſtiſements unto the Beauty of his *Commands* and to the ſweetneſſe of his loving countenance, as by a Raine-bow we ſee the beautifull Image of the Suns-light in the middeſt of a dark and wateriſh Cloud: when by how much the *Fleſh* is the fuller of *paine*, by ſo much the *Prayers* are fuller of *ſpirit*: by how much the *heavier* are our *earthly ſufferings*, by ſo much the *ſtronger* are our *heavenly deſires*: when God threatneth puniſhments, and we pray for grace, this is a ſanctified uſe of Gods judgements. And this wee ſhould all be exhorted unto in theſe times of diſtractions, to make it the principall argument of our Prayers & ſtudie of our lives, to obtaine *ſpirituall good things*; and the leſſe comfort we find in the world to be the more importunate for the comforts of God, that by them we may incourage our ſelves, as *David* did in his calamity at *Ziglag*, 1 *Sam.* 30. 6. when the City *Shechem* was beaten downe to the ground, then the men and women fled to the ſtrong Tower and ſhut that upon them, *Jud.* 9. 51. *The name of the Lord is a ſtrong Tower, the Righteous flie to it and are ſafe, Prov.* 18. 18.

Herein we ſhall *more honour God* when wee ſet him up in our hearts *as our feare and treaſure*, and mourne more towards him, then for the miſeries we feele, and ſuſpire more after him then all the outward contentment which we want.

Herein we ſhall *more exerciſe faith*, for to deprecate judgements is the Prayer of *Nature*, but in judgements to pray for the light of Gods countenance and his grace, is the Prayer of *faith*.

Herein we ſhall *more exerciſe Repentance*, for it is *worldly ſorrow*, which droopeth under the paine of the *fleſh*, but *godly ſorrow* is moſt of all affected with the *Anger of God*.

Herein we ſhall *more prevaile with God*, the more *heavenly* the

matters of our prayer are, the more prevalent they muſt needs be with an *heavenly Father*; we have five ſpirituall petitions unto one for bread, the more ſutable our prayers are to *Gods will*, the more eaſie acceſſe they will have to his eare. The Covenant of grace turnes precepts into promiſes, and the ſpirit of grace turnes precepts and promiſes into prayers. It is not Gods will that wee ſhould live without afflictions, but *our ſanctification is Gods will*, 1 *Theſ.* 4.3. The more prayers proceed from *love*, the more acceptable to the *god of love*, now prayer againſt *judgements* proceed from *feare* but prayer for *grace* and *favour* proceed from *love*.

Laſtly, hereby we ſhall *more benefit our ſelves*, Gods *grace* is much better then our *owne eaſe*, it gives us *meekneſſe* to ſubmit, It gives us *ſtrength* to beare, It gives us *wiſedome* to benefit by our afflictions.

Gods *favour* is much better then our *owne eaſe*, and is a recompence for ſufferings beyond all their evills. A man would be contented to be loaded with gold, ſo he might have it for the bearing, though it be *heavy*, yet it is *pretious*, and Gods favour turnes affliction into gold. *If he gives quietneſſe, nothing can give trouble, Job* 34.29. and if he keepe backe his grace and favour, nothing can give peace; neither wealth, nor honours, nor pleaſures, nor Crownes, nor all the world, with the *fulneſſe*, or rather the *emptineſſe* thereof, nor can doe us any good at all. Any thing which will conſiſt with the raigne of luſt, with the guilt of ſinne, with the curſe of the Law, with the wrath of God, with horrors of conſcience, and with the damnation of Hell is too baſe to be called the good of man. *To do judgement, to love mercy, and walk humbly with God*, this is *bonum hominis*, the good of man, *Mich.* 6.8. *to feare God, to keepe his Commandements*, this is, *totum hominis* the whole end, and happineſſe of man, *Eccleſ.* 12 13.

O then get Remiſſions and Removall of ſin, get this *bonum hominis*, the ovle of grace in your Lampes, the peace of God in your hearts, the ſtreames of the Rivers of God in your conſciences, and then, though the earth be moved, and the mountaines ſhake, and the waters roare, what ever diſtractions, what ever deſolations happen, *Impavidum ferient ruinæ*: thou ſhalt find a *Chamber* in Gods *providence*, a *refuge* in his *promiſes*, a *Pavilion in the ſecret of his preſence* to protect & to comfort thee above them all.

FINIS.

Die Mercurii 27. Iuly. 1642.

IT is this day Ordered by the Houſe of *Commons* now Aſſembled in *Parliament*, That Sir *Chriſtoper Yelverton* doe returne thanks to Mr. *Hill* from this Houſe, for the great pains he took in his Sermon this Day, Preached at the Intreatie of this Houſe, being the Day of Publique Faſt, at Saint *Margarets Weſtminſter*; And that he doe likewiſe intreat him from this Houſe to print his Sermon And that no man preſume to print it, till the Houſe ſhall take further Order, but whom he ſhall appoint.

H. Elſynge Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

I appoint *Iohn Bellamie*, *Philemon Stephens*, and *Ralph Smith*, to Print my Sermon.

THOMAS HILL.

13

THE TRADE OF TRUTH ADVANCED.

IN A

SERMON PREACHED

to the Honourable Houſe of

COMMONS, at their Solemne

Faſt, *July* 27. 1642.

By THOMAS HILL, B. D. Paſtor of the Church at *Tychmerſh* in the Countie of *Northampton.*

Publiſhed by Order of that Houſe.

IOHN 17.17.

Sanctifie them through thy Truth; thy Word is Truth.

2 COR. 13.8.

For we can doe nothing againſt the Truth, but for the Truth.

LONDON,

Printed by *I. L.* for *Iohn Bellamie, Philemon Stephens,* and *Ralph Smith.* 1642. *Aug.* 12.

TO THE HONOVRABLE HOVSE OF COMMONS, NOW ASSEMBLED in PARLIAMENT.

When I firſt heard that I was deſigned for this ſolemne ſervice, being conſcious of my own inſufficiencie to Preach to ſo awfull an Aſſembly, I could not entertaine it without trouble; *yet reſolved* with Luther, *rather to undergoe others cenſures, then to be* reproved for ungodly ſilence, *in ſuch times* when the Lord ſuffereth. *And now I have as much reaſon to be full of* bluſhings, *to thinke that this plaine Diſcourſe ſhould be expoſed to more publique view; but herein I muſt reſigne up my ſelf unto your diſpoſings, to whom I owe,* & quod poſſum, & quod non poſſum, *much more then my meanenesſe can performe.*

Inveniar ſanè ſuberbus &c. modò impiis ſilentii non arguar dum Dominus patitiur. Luth. Ep. ad Staup.

This Sermon, ſuch an one as it is, I humbly tender to your Gracious Acceptance, who have adopted it; I put it into your Honourable Protection, who have liſted it; I commend it to your Practicall obſervation, for whom I intended it; heartily deſiring Gods Bleſſing upon your ſpirits in the peruſall of it; that you may read and act it, turning words into works, *that you may repeate it over in your lives, which is the beſt repetition of Sermons.*

Our preſent breaches, call for a contribution from every

one, for the repairing of them; but much is expected from you, who are called to be publique Counſellors, and thereby obliged to expreſſe a publique frame of ſpirit (which is the beautie and ſtrength of a Great Councell), ſwallowing up your private intereſts, in the publique Welfare. Not with Baruch,
Ier. 45. 5. ſeeking great things for your ſelves, *which is moſt incongruous to Stormy times, but rather reſembling* Melanchthon, *who profeſſed, though he* had many Domeſticall troubles, yet the publique wounds of the Church moſt deeply afflicted him. England *is more bemoaned, by many with that language in*
Aug. Ep. 129. Auſtin *over the poore man.* Quomodo huc cecidiſti? *Alas how cameſt thou into theſe diſtractions? She may anſwer as the poore man there, ſtanding in more need of reliefe then diſcourſe.* Obſecro cogita quomodo hinc me liberes. *Thinke how I may be reſcued out of theſe troubles. Towards this bleſſed Worke, I have caſt in my two mites, moving in the proper ſphere of a Divine, as an Agent for the Truth, perſwading you, who are betruſted by others, and have furre engaged your ſelves in the Reformation of Religion, that with all your might, you woula promote* The Trade of Truth.

It is not for me to ſuggeſt a Methode in the *execution* of
Iſa. 9. 6. your counſels. He whoſe *name is Counſellour* guide you; yet I ſhall ſtill pray that in your *Intention*, the purging, the ſetling, the advancing of True Religion may be moſt Dear unto you. It is one maine end, and a pretious fruit of government, that wee may lead peaceable and quiet lives in *All*
1 Tim. 2. 2. *Godlineſſe* and honeſtie. This is well worth peoples *wraſtling prayers*, and your moſt *active endeavours*. The ſtabillity of all our bleſſings muſt come by the *True Religion*, Gods preſence is the beſt ſecurity, who is moſt powerfully preſent where there is moſt power and purity of Religion. Would you have a *flouriſhing Kingdome*, advance the *Kingdome of Chriſt* in it. Let the State maintaine *Religion*, and Religion will bleſſe the *State*, could you ſettle all our State liberties, yet if the Arke of Truth bee taken from us,
1 Sam. 4. 21, 22. *Our glory is departed*, we may write theſe mourning characters upon all our Comforts, ICHABOD, *where is the glory?*

It

It is too high a *complement* in the *Lord Cordes*, a French Commander, who often ſaid, *that he would willingly lie ſeven yeeres in Hell, ſo that Callice were in the poſſeſſion of the French againe.* We bleſſe God for that *reall* ſelfe-denyall and activity ye have expreſſed, abating ſo many perſonall and family contentments, in your long attendance upon publike affaires. *Be not weary of well doing, in due ſeaſon ye ſhall reape if you faint not.* Gal. 6. 9. *Holliſh.* in *Hen.* 7.

Never had any PARLIAMENT more *Work* to do; *Ireland* ſtill bleeds, the affaires thereof find unhappy obſtructions. To ſubdue Rebellion, to plant Religion there, are great matters. *England* is very much out of frame. The *Church* cals for Truth; the *State* cryes for Peace, they who ſowed in hope, reape in feare, our ſickles are turning into ſwords. Now to effect an happy *correſpondence* betwixt our *Soveraigne* and his *people*, a bleſſed *compliance* betwixt *England* and *Religion*, heres work for the ſtrongeſt ſhoulders.

Never had any PARLIAMENT greater oppoſition. As *Nehem.* 4. 17. our builders *worke with one hand*, and hold a *weapon with the other*. *Achitophels* plot, *Rabſhekahs* raile, *Sanballats* mocke. Yea ſince counceils of Reformation, there is a more malignant antipathy appears againſt truth in many places. As 2 *Tim.* 3. 13. *evill men and ſeducers waxe worſe and worſe, deceiving and being deceived.* Yet be encouraged Worthy Sirs. Never had any PARLIAMENT ſo many *Thundring Legions* of praying *Chriſtians*, to aſſiſt them. when others inſult and blaſpheme, *Iacobs* poſterity are wreſtling with God for you, reſolving not to *let him goe till he bleſſe you.* And whilſt you are purſuing peace, allow this plaine Sermon that humble boldneſſe as to whiſper you in the eare, beſeeching you ſtill to maintain your former zeale in the cauſe of Truth. When did your counſels proſper more, then when you were moſt active about religion. When you were building the *Lords Houſe*. For hee builded yours as *Hag.* 2. 19. *from this day I will bleſſe you.*

Be pleaſed therfore more and more to engage your ſelves for

for the Truth, ſo ſhal you engage God for you; let your cauſe be *His cauſe* then his *Attributes* will be yours, his *providence* 2 *King.* 6. 16. will work for you, his *ſpirit* wil work in you; *then will you have more with you then againſt you*, though the Devill and the Pope combine. Do your owne work, truſt God with his; duty is ours, Events, ſucceſſe are his. *Commit the keeping* 1 *Pet.* 4. 19. *of your ſoules*, of the Church, of the ſtate, to him *in well doeing as unto a faithfull creator*. Truth will yet Triumph, *Babylon* and all her Crutches muſt downe; *the fight of faith* is 1 *Tim.* 6. 12. *a good fight*, becauſe ſuch ſouldiers are ſure of the victory. The kingdome of Chriſt ſhall prevaile, though ſecond cauſes be impotent, yet *the zeale of the Lord of Hoaſts will perform this*. *Iſa.* 9. 7.

When *Hieruſalem* is reſtored it will be a *city of Truth Zach.* 8. 3. O that all our *Parliament* worthyes, might beo ſo valiant for the Truth that *England* might become a *kingdome* of *Truth*; following Chronicles will then give you a ſhare in that Honour of being the Churches *Saviours*, as *Obad.* v. 21. and God will put *Zerubbabels* high dignity upon you, making you as Signets. *Hag.* 2. 23.

The Good Lord guide, unite, act and bleſſe your counſels, *And think upon you for good, according to all you have done*, or ſhall doe *for his people*.

So prayes He

who deſires to be found,

Your faithfull ſervant for the Truth:

THOMAS HILL.

A

SERMON PREACHED AT the Faſt before the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

PROVERBS 23. 23.

Buy the truth, and ſell it not.

THE eternall Happineſſe of our immortall ſouls is to be found only in union and communion with *Ieſus Chriſt*; *Religion* is that which gathers and binds up the ſpirit to cloſe fellowſhip with *Him*; This bond is twiſted out of thoſe materials, which the ſeverall pen-men of *Holy Scriptures* have prepared; *Wiſe Solomon* hath contributed a good ſhare to this bleſſed work in his three Books, *Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, Canticles.*

I will not confidently *with Hierome and others,* entitle *Salomons three books*, to his three *Names*; As he was *Salomon peaceable* (ſay they) he ſcatter-

Hieron. in Eccleſ. Cornel. a Lap. in Prov. Argum.

ed *Proverbiall ſentences* among *young men*, to diſcipline them in wayes of righteouſneſſe and *peace*; As he was קוֹהֶלֶת, *Eccleſiaſtes*, the Preacher, he wrote the book of *Eccleſiaſtes*, a *pithy Sermon*, teaching men of riper yeers, the *vanitie of vanities* in all worldly excellencies. As he was *Iedidiah*, 2 *Sam.* 12. 25. *Beloved of the Lord*, he acquainted greateſt proficients, with the ſweet communion betwixt Chriſt and his Spouſe *in the Song of Songs*.

But of this I am ſure; The book of *Proverbs* is ſutable to its *Title*, worthy of *Wiſe Salomon the ſonne of David king of Iſrael*, *Prov.* 1. 1. In the firſt book of *Kings*, *Chap.* 3. *verſ.* 9. 11. *Salomon* was an earneſt ſuiter unto *God* for *underſtanding*; and becauſe he ſought it *from God* and *for God*, (ſo much doth the *Lord* love to ſee a publike ſpirit in our private prayers.) *He* gave him a large portion of wiſdome, with an overplus of other rich advantages; he obtained both the *wiſdome* of a *Prophet* and of a *King*, whereby he ſpake both *Prophetical* and *Kingly ſentences*. So much the *Originall* word משלי rendred, *Proverbs* ſeemes to import; raigning commanding ſentences, being ſo full of wiſdome gravity and authoritie; and that ſtile of being Maſter of the Sentences, may well be tranſlated from *Peter Lumbard*, unto King *Salomon*, who was the Author of ſo many Maſter-ſentences.

Ἀξιώματα, *ſive dignitates, be doctrine quæ ſuo merito vitæ noſtræ veluti domine & moderatrices eſſe debent, Cartw.*

Much of the *wiſdome* of a *Nation*, is oft found in their *Proverbs*; and much of *Salomons* in this book of his *Proverbs*, it being a cabinet of ſuch Jewels, as is fit for the cloſet of ſo wiſe a King,

full

full of ſhort and pithy ſentences, like Jewels indeed, containing *magnum in parvo*, much valne, vertue, and luſtre in a *little roome*.

And for the better diſcovery of their excellencie, it is *obſervable*, that herein they differ from moſt other Scripture; Their *Harmony* is in *diſcord*, their *beautie* in a kinde of *contrarietie*. If you would underſtand our *Saviours parables*, minde *the ſcope*; if you would reach many other *places of Scripture*, attend the *dependance*, but if you deſire diſtinctly to apprehend the *Proverbs* in them, conſider the *oppoſition*; which though it appeare not ſo full in this my *Text*, as in many other of theſe Proverbiall ſentences, yet here you may finde two diſagreeing parts.

Parts of the Text.

First an *Injunction*, *Buy the Truth.*

Secondly, a *Prohibition*, *Sell it not.*

This *oppoſition*, ſuch as it is, begets two *Propoſitions*.

1. All the ſons of wiſdome, muſt be carefull to buy the Truth.

2. Though all muſt be buying, yet none may ſell the Truth.

I will follow the method of the words, beginning with the firſt propoſition.

1. Propoſition.

All the ſonnes of wiſdome, muſt be carefull to buy the Truth.

Herein by *Gods gracious aſſiſtance*, I will take a view of ſeverall branches, enquiring by way of *explication* and *confirmation*.

1. What is the *commoditie* it ſelf, this *Truth* that muſt be bought?
2. Into the *nature of the purchaſe*, with *the price of it*.

3. What Reaſons may engage us to trade in this *commoditie.*

And then ioyntly ſhake them altogether in the application, trying what ſeaſonable fruit they will afford this *grave Aſſembly on this ſolemne Day.*

Explication. Every one will be enquiſitive concerning the *commoditie it ſelf:* What is this Truth? I anſwer, Not a *Metaphyſicall* Truth, thats for Speculation only, not a *Logicall* Truth, thats chiefely for diſputation; nor a *Morall Ethicall* Truth, thats but one ſprig of ſpeaking; [*veracitas* rather then *veritas*] *Salomons* Truth here muſt needs be *Theologicall.* And that not *veritas* 1° *prima, God himſelf,* no creature can compaſſe ſo great a *purchaſe,* if God were willing to ſell it, but *veritas* 2° *prima,* derived from that firſt Truth, this may, and muſt be bought. This is *veritas objectiva,* as it lyes in the Scriptures, both in the *principles* of it, and *concluſions* deduced from it; Truth *Originall* and Truth *Derived.* And *veritas ſubjectiva* ſeated *in us,* which we ſucke from the word of Truth. Indeed Truth of Religion *in us,* grounded upon the Holy Scriptures the Rule of Truth; which comprizeth Truth in our *Iudgements,* when ſoundly *informed*; Truth in our *wils* and *affections,* when obedientially *conformed*; Truth in our *converſation,* when ſeriouſly *reformed* according to the word of Truth.

1. Libertie of Truth muſt be bought. There are things in *Truth* well worth our *Buying, firſt libertie of Truth,* that the *True Religion* may have free paſſage, and not be impriſoned in corners or clogged with difficulties. *Veritas nihil erubeſcit præterquam abſcondi. Truth bluſheth at nothing ſo much as to be concealed. Paul* deſireth the *Theſſalonians* to pray for him, *Sylvanus* and *Timotheus,* that the word of God

God *may run and be glorified.* It is a diſparagement to Chriſt and his Goſpel, when that hath ſo much adoe to *creepe*, which ſhould *run* and ride in triumph from congregation to congregation, from kingdome to kingdome. But a moſt beautifull and honourable ſight to ſee Chriſt at the opening of the *firſt Seale*, with a *bow* and a *crowne*, *going forth conquering and to conquer*, ſubduing the Heatheniſh world to the obedience of his Goſpel by the preaching of the Apoſtles. What though a river be full of good water, yet if frozen, if not an open paſſage, men may die for thirſt. 2 *Theſſ.* 3. 1. *Revel.* 6. 2.

It is the *motion* of the *Sun* of righteouſneſſe, that diſperſes both light and heat. Libertie of the Goſpel makes it a Goſpel to us. The Church in the *Acts* knew how to value this libertie of Truth, and therefore when *Peter* was impriſoned *inſtant and earneſt prayer was made*; the anſwer was as effectuall. *Peter* releaſed, *Herod* confounded, and truth ſet at libertie. Of all famines, the Soul-famine, Goſpel-famine is the moſt grievous; threatned as an heavy Judgement, *Amos* 8. 11, 12. But a moſt ſweet mercy to feel and taſte the accompliſhment of that promiſe, *Iſa.* 30. 20. *Though the Lord give you the bread of adverſitie, and the water of affliction, yet ſhall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes ſhall ſee thy teachers.* *Acts* 12. 5.

Secondly, *Puritie of true Religion*, is a good purchaſe as well as *libertie*. That we may have an incorrupt Religion, without ſinfull, without guilefull mixtures; not a linſey-woolſey Religion. All *new borne babes will deſire* τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα, 1 *Pet.* 2. 2. Word-milke, Sermon-milke *without guile*, without adulterating 2. Puritie of Truth muſt be bought. *Purum eſt plenum ſui & immixtum alieni.*

rating Sophiſtication of it, of which *Paul* glories, 2 *Cor.* 2. 17. *For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God: but as of ſinceritie, but as of God, in the ſight of God ſpeake we in Chriſt.* Whoſe zealous care it was, 2 *Cor.* 11. 2. to *eſpouſe* the Church of *Corinth to one Husband* (no polygamy in the ſecond marriage) that *he might preſent them as a chaſte virgin unto Chriſt.* This he endeavoured by pure Goſpel means, and by perſwading to puritie and ſingleneſſe of heart in the uſe of thoſe means. The Devill is as buſie *verſ.* 3. to corrupt peoples minds *from the ſimplicitie that is in Chriſt*; well knowing the ſimplicitie that is in Chriſt, is the beſt Rule for the Churches conformitie, to this we may ſubſcribe without any checke of conſcience.

Quot ſuperarunt mixturæ ex hominum ingenio prolatæ, totidem extabunt pollutiones quæ homines diſtrahant à certo eorum uſu, quæ Dominus in eorum ſalutem inſtituerat. Calv. Ep. Pol. Angl. Totalis & adequata regula eſt ſcriptura & traditio ſimul. Traditio parem habet autoritatem ſcripturæ, Bucan.

And indeed, what are *falſe* Religions, but *Humane compoſitions*. The *Alcoran* compounds *Mahomets* fond devices with ſome fragments of *Gods word*.

Poetry compounds *unwritten Traditions* moſt preſumptuouſly with *Holy Scripture*; yea it rakes up Heatheniſh cuſtomes, revives old Jewiſh Ceremonies which are now *mortuæ & mortiferæ* dead and deadly, *compounding* them with the *inſtitutions of Chriſt*.

You may diſcerne ſuch mixtures in many errors, about the great myſteries of the Goſpel, even in every linke of the golden chaine of Salvation, *Rom.* 8. 30. *Arminians* in the Decree of *Election* compound foreſeene faith, with the Soveraigntie of Gods will. In *vocation*, ſo compounding mans Free-will with Gods Free Grace, that with them in the act of converſion *prima cauſa* depends upon *ſecunda*, the power of Gods grace muſt wayte upon the concurrence of our good nature.

Popiſh

Popish Doctors doe strangely compound *works* with *faith* in the act of *justification*; and in *glorification*, so compound the merits of the *Saints* with the merits of *Christ*, that by a *condignitie* they become meritorious of eternall life; let the *Devill* affect vaine compositions; the whore of *Babylon* must *paint* her wrinckled face with some borrowed *beautie*, to cover her inward deformities; Christ and his Truth, will glory in no vernish so much as native simplicitie and puritie.

Thirdly, *Truth* must be purchased as well in the *power*, as in the libertie and puritie of it. There should be such a *streame* as *runs purely* without mud, and that in a *strong torrent*. Hypocrites will swarve in the last age, when most Gospel-light breaks out, many painted professions will borrow some lustre from it; This *Paul* foretels, 2 *Tim.* 3. 5. In the last dayes together with many streames of wickednesse, there will be a generation of men *having a forme of Godlinesse*, but *denying the power of it*; a good description of *hypocrisie*. But the Lord bespeaks power, both in the dispensing and the professing of Truth. *Paul* desired to preach *in the demonstration of the spirit, and of power*, 1 *Cor.* 2. 4. as well knowing that the *kingdome of God is not in word, but in power*, 1 *Cor.* 4. 20. It is not *wording*, but *working the power*, that will evidence to speaker or hearers, that they are *subjects* in the kingdome of *Grace* and *heires* to the kingdome of *glory*. This *Paul* made an argument of their election, 1 *Thess.* 1. 5. that *the Gospel came not to them in word only, but in power and in the Holy Ghost*; much power appearing in *the dispensation* of it, and the *Thessalonians hearts* so fully possessed with the power of the *Truth*, that their carnall

3. Power of Truth must be bought.

Hypocrisis est signum sine signato.

nall principles were confuted, their paſſions moderated, their luſts mortified, and their ſelf-ends confounded.

Moſt men affect in *Religion*, either a *dull moderation*, or an *outſide pompe*, both enemies to the power of *Truth*. *Moderation* doth better in other things, then in the practiſe of *Religion*, where there cannot be a *nimium*. *God* requires *totum cor* and *totum cordis*, the whole heart, and the totalitie of it; that we ſhould love him with all our heart, with all our ſoul, and with our ſtrength, *Luk.* 10. 27. Indeed moderation hath its ſeaſon, but with *Calvins* caution; *I confeſſe* (ſaith he) *there ought to be moderation, yet this I conſtantly affirme, care muſt be had, that under preſence of moderation, nothing be tolerated, which proceedeth from the Devill or Antichriſt.*

Fateor quidem moderationi locum eſſe oportere, ſed non minus conſtanter affirmo videndum eſſe ne ſub illo prætextu tolcretur quicquam quod à Satanâ vel Antichriſto profectum ſit. Calv. ep. Priot. Angl.

Neither muſt we ſo *affect* the *outward pompe of Religion*, as to *neglect* the *power of it*. *Hilary* his counſell was good, who writing againſt *Auxentius Biſhop of Millaine*, complained that the *Arrian* faction had confounded all, and therefore admoniſhed all men to take heed, how they ſuffered themſelves to be led with outward appearances. *It is not well* (ſaith he) *that you are in love with walls, that you eſteeme the Church in reſpect of houſes and buildings, and in, and under theſe ſhewes and appearances pretend and urge the name of peace. Is there any doubt of Antichriſts ſitting in theſe places?* This makes *Popery* ſuch a Religion as pleaſes mens *eyes*, and humours their *eares*, rather then rectify their *mindes*, and heale their *hearts*, becauſe they ſeeke not ſo much to *purchaſe the power, as the pompe of Religion.*

Hilarius contra Auxentium. *Malè vos parietum amor cepit; malè eccleſiam Dei in tectis adificiſque veneramini; malè ſub his pacis nomen ingeritur; annè ambiguum eſt in iis Antichriſtum Seſſitare?*

Having layed open before you the *Commoditie* it ſelf to be purchaſed; *Truth* in the *libertie, puritie*, and

power

power of it; Its neceſſary further to enquire into the *nature of the purchaſe*, with *its price*.

As all other *markets*, ordinarily *begin at home*; ſo indeed our trading for *Truth*. The ſpirit of God, having convinced the heart, how farre it is *come ſhort of the glory of God by ſin*, *Rom.* 3. 23. and that men are *alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them*, *Epheſ.* 4. 18. withall, giving the *ſoule* an hint and taſte of the excellencie and ſweetneſſe of *Divine Truth*, the only *Soveraigne means of its recovery*, it groanes moſt ſeriouſly, and pants moſt affectionately after acquaintance with the *truth* and poſſeſſion of it. And that not only by ſome *cold velleitie*, by ſome dull wiſhing and woulding; but by a *peremptorie choice*; not by *wandring and flaſhy*, but *conſtant and fixed deſires*; not by lazie and ſlothfull, but operative and buſie deſires; Truth I would have, yea Truth I muſt have, els I am everlaſtingly undone.

Purchaſe of Truth.
1. Begins in Deſires after it.
Scientia viſus, & guſtus.
Iſa. 55. 1. *Luk.* 18. 1. 7. *Prov.* 26. 15.

Affectionate deſires, as they live and move in opinions; ſo they produce actions, inclining us to take pains for the obtaining of that we would poſſeſſe. They adde wings to the ſoule, making us to flie like buſie Bees from flower to flower, from ordinance to ordinance, that we may ſucke the ſweetneſſe of Truth, *which is ſweeter then honey, and the droppings of honey combs.* The purchaſe of Truth, is carryed on by ſuch an active diſpoſition, as the *Spouſe* in the *Canticles* had to enjoy her *Beloved*; *I will riſe now and goe about the ſtreets, and in the broad wayes, I will ſeeke him whom my ſoule loveth.* Every buyer of truth,

2. Promoted by Diligence.
Pſal. 19. 10.
Cant. 3. 2.

Luk. 19. 3, 4. muſt be willing with *little* Zacheus *to get up into any Sycomare tree*, to take all Goſpel advantages, to gaine a *ſight of his Saviour*, to behold Chriſt who is Truth it ſelfe. Truth is an hidden treaſure, *Matth.* 13. 44. ſometimes hidden from us by the *difficultie of Scripture* wherein it is contained, God thereby putting a value upon it, and an edge upon our ſtudies and prayers; ſometimes hidden by *differences amongſt learned men.* Law may be clouded by a multitude of booke Caſes; and Divinitie obſcured by a multitude of *Schoole utrums.*

Many times truth is hidden by the ſcandalous lives of ſuch as profeſſe it. Carnall ſpectators being much more quick-ſighted to apprehend the deformity of Religious men, then the beauty of Religion it ſelfe. And too often *hidden under great diſgrace in the world*, being ſtiled, *Hereſy*, *Schiſme*, *Faction.* Yea *Religion* it ſelfe accounted the greateſt *Crime.* This Treaſure lies often ſo deep, you muſt be content to ſweat in digging for it before you can obtaine it.

C. Stjas Bonus vir, ſed Chriſtianus.

3. Managed by Prudence. All they who would purchaſe Truth, muſt not onely be *like Merchant men ſeeking goodly Pearles*; *Matth.* 13. 45. but withall, be able to diſcerne when they have found a *pearle of great price, verſ.* 46. to know whether it be a pearle or pibble; that it is not droſſe, but gold bearing the ſtamp of truth.

There is much doubtleſſe in that of the Apoſtle *Paul, Col.* 4. 5. *Walke in wiſdome toward them that are without, redeeming the time.* All good Merchants muſt be redeeming time, improving all hints

hints of doing good, of enjoying Gods ordinances, wherein you may trade for truth. Obſerve the connexion; walke wiſely towards them that are without, redeeming the time. The Church was then under perſecuting Governors, and vexed with bad neighbours, both enemies to the trade of truth; yet you muſt be purchaſing; only wherein walke ſo wiſely towards them without. 1. That you violate not the peace and puritie of your owne conſcience. 2. That you deface not the ſtamp of Divinitie upon Authothoritie. 3. That by a rigid auſteritie you alienate not others from truth. 4. Nor by a complying familiaritie with them in their ſins, harden them againſt the truth.

The Soule that *thirſts* after *Truth*, having *taken paines*, how according to the rules of *godly providence*, it may be poſſeſſed of that it ſo dearely loves, is now willing to *conclude the bargaine* by paying the *price*. *Solomon* here mentions *no price*, becauſe he would have us buy it at *any price*. Sometimes it may coſt us *credit*, and *libertie*, as it did the *Apoſtles*, *Acts* 5. 41. Sometimes it may coſt us the *loſſe of goods*, as it did thoſe Chriſtians, *Hebr.* 10. 34. Yea, ſometimes *life it ſelf*, muſt be the *price of Truth*. We muſt be content to follow that *cloud of witneſſes*, which appears in that little *booke of Martyrs*, the 11th *Chapter to the Hebrews*, we muſt write after that heroicall copie which our *owne Worthies* have ſet us, who ſacrificed their deareſt lives, to the *crueltie of Bonners flames*, that they might poſſeſſe the *Truth*.

4. Tranſacted by paction.

Hæc optima commutatio, da res tuas ut acquiras veritatem; non alienabis à te veritatem, ut acquiras res alias. Cajet.

Truth ſeldom bought upon cheap tearmes.

Truth is ſo precious a Jewell, you muſt never expect to have the markets cheape. *The Devill* at firſt laid ſiege againſt the *Truths*, which were moſt *Fundamentall*, that ſo he might have ruined all the *buildings*; he would by the ſubtiltie of *ancient Hereticks* have huckſtered up thoſe Truths, which concerned the *Natures* and *Perſon of Chriſt*, this coſt *very deare*, before the foure *firſt Councells* could ſettle *Truth* againſt the *Hereticks* of thoſe times. Afterwards, when *Poperie* invaded all the *Offices of Chriſt* (ſuch a dangerous gangreen is it) undermining him, as the *Prophet*, as the *Prieſt*, and as the *King* of his *Church*, it coſt no little blood in *England* and *Germanie*, to vindicate the Doctrine of Divine worſhip, and of the Holy Sacraments, from ſuch errors as oppoſed the Propheticall and Prieſtly Office of Chriſt. That branch of *Truth* about Church Government and Diſcipline, ſo much concerning the Kingly Office of Chriſt, is of rich value, if the Markets ſhould riſe, we muſt drive on the bargaine what ever it coſt. No price too great for the obtaining ſuch a Purchaſe, to ſee our Deare Saviour *advanced* in all his Offices; as *the Churches Prophet*, without being beholden to *unwritten traditions*; as the *Prieſt* of his Church, without the *ſatisfactions* of any *Meritmongers*, without any *Purgatorie*, any *Bridewell* of the Popes making; as the *King* of his Church, above *Miters*, above *Canon-laws*, or any Church uſurpations whatſoever.

After

After the diſcovery of the nature of this purchaſe and the price of *Truth*, its fit to conſider what Reaſons may engage you all to trade herein; which are divers, according to the *various reference Truth* hath to things of high concernment. Confirmation.

Never expect to have the ſpirituall and eternall good of your owne immortall ſouls effectually promoted, unleſſe you buy and be poſſeſſed of *Truth*. 1. *Reaſon.*

1. The *Word of Truth*, is the ſeed by which we are begotten againe, *Iam.* 1. 18. *Tea incorruptible Seed, which liveth and abideth for ever*, 1 *Peter* 1. 23. untill the *Truth* hath delivered us, what are we poore ſinners, but an heape of dry bones, ſo many dead carkaſes rotting in the grave of corruption.

2. It is the *Milke*, by which *new borne babes* are nouriſhed, 1 *Peter* 2. 2. by this they grow in the *habits*, in the *degrees*, in the *exerciſe* of Grace. Strangers to the *Truth*, like the Prodigall, live upon huſks, and *lay out their money for that which is not bread, Iſa.* 55. 2.

3. Naturally, as the ſonnes and daughters of *Adam*, we are ſtained with many ſpots, ſteeped in corruption, polluted with *filthineſſe of fleſh and ſpirit*, 2 *Corinth.* 7. 1. *Truth* is the water by which we are cleanſed, *Ioh.* 15. 3.

4. When we goe groping up and downe in in the darke, expoſed to errors, beſieged with terrors, *Truth* affoords us *direction* and *conſolation*, *Pſal.* 119. 105.

5. *Truth* is the *Armour*, by which you are defended againſt your ſpirituall Enemies, and enabled for offenſive warre. Amongſt the ſixe peeces of our ſpirituall Armour, three of theſe have ſpeciall dependance upon the *Truth*. You muſt have the *girdle of Truth*, *Epheſ.* 6. *verſ.* 14. beſhod with *the preparation of the Goſpell of peace*, *verſ.* 15. and *take the ſword of the ſpirit*, *verſ.* 17.

6. And indeed the word of *Truth*, *is the Goſpell of your Salvation*, *Epheſians* 1. 13. The Charter by which the Corporation of Saints, challengeth ſuch *rich priviledges*; the Articles of that Covenant, which doth entitle them to ſuch *bleſſed hopes*.

2. *Reaſon.* You cannot hope to finde Gods gracious acceptance of your ſervice, nor enjoy any Soule-refreſhing communion with him in the duties of his worſhip, unleſſe *Truth* direct and animate your ſpirits therein. When *David* was engaged in a pious and plauſible ſervice, in fetching the Arke from *Kiriath-jearim*, 1 *Chronicles* 13. he conſulted, *verſ.* 1, 2. the people conſented, *verſ.* 3, 4. there was much confluence and triumph, *verſ.* 8. The Oxen ſtumbling, *Vzzah* upon a faire pretence, put forth his hand to uphold the *Arke*, yet God would not accept of his faire intention, but ſmote him that he dyed, *verſ.* 10. the reaſon is rendred, 1 *Chronicles* 15. *verſ.* 13. becauſe God *was not ſought after the due order*, his *Truth* was not obſerved, in the carrying of the Arke, as *verſ.* 14. with reference to this Story,

Story, *Peter Martyr* commends it, to the care of *Queene* ELIZABETH, that *Church Governors endeavour not to carry the Arke of the Goſpell into England*, upon *the Cart of needleſſe Ceremonies.* *P. Martyr. Ep. 36. Regni. Eliz.*

There are two flyes which marre the moſt precious pots of oyntment. Hypocriſie and Superſtition, as *Iſaiah* 29. 13. *Wherefore the Lord ſaid, foraſmuch as this people draw neere to me with their mouth, and with their lips doe honour me, but have removed their heart farre from me, and their feare toward mee is taught by the precept of men.* In both a great defect of *Truth*. Hypocriſie is lip-labour, and lip-labour is loſt labour; no dutie acceptable without truth of heart in it; Superſtitious worſhip, *taught by mens precepts*, may be devout enough, yet becauſe it wants the Authoritie of Gods *Truth* to Steere it, how marvellouſly doth God curſe it, *verſ.* 14. *Therefore behold, I proceed to doe a marvellous worke amongſt this people, a marvellous worke and a wonder: the wiſdome of their Wiſe men ſhall periſh, and the underſtanding of their Prudent men ſhall bee hid.* When the Devill hath made men Superſtitious, God will make them fooliſh, he takes no pleaſure in them.

The beſt of our Practicall Chriſtianitie, even our moſt ſolemne addreſſes to God (upon ſuch a day as this) looſe their vigour and bleſſing, if cuſtome only or formality act us herein, and not conſcience to Gods *Truth*. What are good Chriſtians, but *Rules of Truth*, become *examples*, yea

yea living, *walking pictures* of Divine *Truth.* When the wantonneſſe (of humane wiſdome) will multiply Will-worſhip, and Wit-worſhip, thinking to pleaſe God with better deviſes then his owne, it turnes to groſſe folly, and ends in much miſchiefe, rather then acceptation. Witneſſe *Gideons Ephod*, *Iudges* 8. *verſ.* 27. Yea, ſuch men take much paines to looſe their labour, and *Matthew* 15. *verſ.* 9. *In vaine doe they worſhip God, teaching for Doctrine, the commandements of men.*

3. *Reaſon.* Never expect the gracious preſence of Chriſt in his Churches, unleſſe you purchaſe Truth, and ſet it upon the Throne, *Revel.* 2. 1. *He walketh in the middeſt of the golden Candleſticks*, whoſe office it is to hold forth the Truth.

The beautie and efficacie of Church Government and Diſcipline, depend upon their Conformitie unto Divine Truth. It muſt Regulate Church Power, and Diſcipline Church Adminiſtrations, elſe they will ſoone looſe their Luſtre and Authoritie; Degenerating either into emptie Formalitie, or into Church Tyranny, which of all other is moſt grievous, becauſe ſo oppreſſive to the Conſcience. Hence ſuch uncouth Catalogues of Church Officers amongſt the Papiſts: Pope, Cardinals, &c. Hence ſuch ſwelling Volumes of their Canon Law, becauſe not Divine Truth, but carnall wiſdome drew the platforme. Hence ſo many of our *Temples*, made *houſes of Merchandize*, wherein, *as in the darkneſſe of Popery*, *Indulgences* were, *Abſolutions* are

are bought and ſold. Yea, hence the *ſword of excommunication* which was wont to be *formidable*, becauſe drawne with ſo much ſolemnitie, is now made contemptible, becauſe ſo familiarly abuſed upon trifles; and all this, becauſe Divine Truth hath had no more power in our Conſiſtories. And this doubtleſſe doth much foment the preſent diſtractions of the Church, that either fancie or affection ſhould put ſuch high claimes upon things, as ſuddenly to ſtyle them *Inſtitutions of Chriſt*, or *uſurpations of Antichriſt*, not ſufficiently conſulting with Divine Truth. If our Prelaticall Power, and Cathedrall Pompe, be of Divine Right, let us ſee a Divine word for it; what need we ſuch violent arguments to maintaine them, oath upon oath, ſubſcription upon ſubſcription?

Gladius Eccleſiæ venerandâ ritate ſit mirabilis. Petr. de Alliaco.

Let Chriſt himſelfe be acknowledged as King in his Church, as Lord in his houſe, let the word of *Truth* be our Booke of Canons, our Books of Diſcipline, and then if *Paul* were our viſitour, he would rejoyce *to behold our order*, as *Coloſſians 2. verſ. 5.*

Yea, then we ſhall undoubtedly find the Broad-Seale of Heaven, confirming what is done, when we follow the guidance of Chriſt in his owne *Truth*, *Matth.* 18. 15, 16, 17, 18.

4. *Reaſon.*

The beſt way to promote the moſt publique good of all the Churches, is by advancing the trade of *Truth*. This *publique counſell* ſhould move in the moſt *publique ſphare*, ſeeking good for themſelves and others, both at home and abroad. The eyes of all the *three Kingdomes*, yea,

of the *Proteſtant world* are now upon you, expecting much from your influence. You can never contribute fully to the worke, of *Reformation* here, unleſſe you ſet *Truth* at libertie; neither ſhall you be ſo effectually helpfull to all the *Proteſtant Churches*, though you ſhould recover their lands and regaine their territories, unleſſe you re-eſtabliſh their Religion, by opening a free trade of *Truth* amongſt them.

Truths advancement is one of Gods great deſignes; Kingdomes are for Churches, and *Churches golden Candleſticks* to hold forth *Truth*, that therein Chriſt may appeare in his moſt glorious luſtre; when the banners of *Truth* are univerſally and victoriouſly diſplayed, *The Kingdomes of this world ſhall become the Kingdomes of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reigne for ever and ever*, Revel. 11. 15.

2 *Theſſ.* 2. 7. How came *Popery* to be advanced to ſo great height, but by ſuppreſſing *Truth*; *The myſtery of iniquitie wrought in the* Apoſtles times; It went on by ſteps; the Pope was firſt Antichriſt *naſcent*, then Antichriſt *creſcent*, after Antichriſt *regnant*, but when he was made *Lord of the Catholike Faith*, ſo that none muſt beleeve more, nor leſſe, nor otherwiſe then he preſcribed, he became Antichriſt *triumphant*. The Pope is guiltie of the groſſeſt theevery, he robs the *Sacrament* of the *Cup*, the *Scriptures* of their *Authoritie*, and the *Church* of the *Scriptures*; as theeves blow out the candles, the better to conceale themſelves, and carry on their deſignes; ſo *He* ſuppreſſeth, as much as he can, *the light of Truth*,

See *Crakanthorp* of the fift Generall Councell, chap. 13.

Truth, that with more advantage, he may play his pranks, and creepe undiſcerned in the *darke*.

If you would lay ſiege to the Devill or Popes kingdome, and undermine all the crutches and ſupporters of it, ſet *Truth* at libertie. *Zachary 4. verſ. 6.* the *great mountaine* of oppoſition muſt be moved, not by humane *power and might*, but by *the ſpirit of the Lord of Hoaſts*, not only by his power but by *his ſpirit*, becauſe Church works muſt be carryed on in a way of *enlightning* and *revealing the Truth*. Thus the *wiſe providence of God* wrought formerly, when a *Generall Councell* (though by many groaned after) could not be obtained with the conſent of the Clergy and Court of Rome, to whom Reformation would be a certaine Ruine, *He* ſtirred up divers Heroicall Worthies, *Waldus* in *France*, *Wickliffe* in *England*, *Luther* in *Germany*, *Knoxe* in *Scotland*, to deſpiſe the light of *Truth*; And *Revel. 14. verſ. 6.* After the flying Angell, having the *everlaſting Goſpell to preach unto all that dwell on the earth*, then *verſ. 8.* there *follows another Angell ſaying, Babylon is fallen.* Doubtleſſe the Pope muſt fall not only by the Sword of Princes, but by the Sword of the Spirit, *2 Theſſalonians 2. verſ. 8.* That wicked One muſt be *revealed, and conſumed with the Spirit of the Lords mouth.* If you would have the myſtery of iniquitie unmasked, ſee the Popes Triple Crowne tumble, and the thicke miſt of Popery vaniſh, help forward the bright Sun-ſhine of Gods Word, promote the libertie, puritie, and power of *Truth*.

Application. You have had a diſcovery of ſome few *ſprigs*, growing upon this firſt *Propoſition*, let us in the Application, gather the wholeſome fruit which hangs upon them.

1. Vſe. Self-examination. It is the good hand of God upon us; when ſo many of our brethren in *Ireland*, are ſtill bleeding under their enemies crueltie, that we are at libertie in this ſolemne Ordinance, to plead with our God for mercie. Oh that this day of Self-humbling, might be to us in the uſe of it, according to its nature, *a ſelf-ſearching, or ſoul-purging day.*

My Commiſſion is, to hold forth the Glaſſe of Gods Truth before your eyes, that you may may diſcover your ſpots and defects. Let it be your worke, to reade over *your ſelves*, as well as *your Bibles*; to ſpeake and write *retractations* of your former errors, and *confeſſions* of your *miſcarriages* (I wiſh we could all be *Auguſtines* herein.) The *Lord* knoweth what *Volumes* many of us might fill, if we were but well ſtudyed in our ſelves. And together with the long Catalogue of all our other ſins, our *neglect of Truth* muſt come in, as having a great influence into the reſt: for this we may bluſh and bleed, yea rivers of teares are too little to bewaile this, that in all our deſignes, we have ſo little minded to purchaſe the *Libertie*, the *Puritie* and *Power* of *true Religion.*

Adam and *Eve* began to make very bad markets, to *ſell themſelves* and *poſteritie*, for the *forbidden fruit.* Prophane *Eſau*, ſold his *Birth-rights*

for

for a Meſſe of *pottage*, *Heb.* 12. 16. How many with *Abſalom*, to humour their vain-glory, will ſet the Peace of a Kingdome to ſale? How many with *Haman*, to gratifie proud revenge, will ſet a whole *Church* to ſale? Some with *Iudas*, will ſet up their *Saviour* to ſale for thirtie pieces. Others with *Diotrephes* (the firſt Cocke of the game) that they may fill their ſailes with *Church-pompe*, and *Church-power*, will ſet the *Keyes of Church* and *Ordinances of Chriſt* to ſale. Lay your hands upon your hearts. To be purveyours for your luſts, as the *prophane*, *Romanes* 13. *verſ.* 14. To be Merchants for the Pope, as the *ſuperſtitious Innovators*. To be Proctors for the Devill, as *Goſpell-oppoſers*, what ſaith conſcience? Is this to *buy the Truth*.

Give me leave (Honourable and beloved) to come neerer you, with three plaine Queres. I ſtudy not *alta* but *apta proferre*.

Have you gotten your owne hearts poſſeſſed with the power of the *Truth*? Hath Gods word a throne in your Conſciences, *Coloſſians* 3. 16. *Let the word of God dwell richly in you*. If it dwell there. Firſt, it muſt *intrare*, then *reſidere*: it muſt dwell and abide there, exerciſing a ſoveraigntie over you, ever drawing open into an humble familiaritie with it. What fruitfull knowledge have you gotten in the myſterie of Doctrinall and Practicall Godlineſſe. They who know the Grace of God in *Truth*, will *bring forth fruit*, *Coloſſians* 1. *verſ.* 6. Doth the *Truth* of your Religion appeare in your relations, in the

1. Quere. Concerning the perſons.

uniformitie of a Goſpell converſation? as *Phil.* 1. *verſ.* 27. Aske your hearts, whether in all your undertakings you move upon Religious grounds, and for Religious ends. God doth not onely number, but weigh our actions, and obſerves not onely what is done, but why it is done. The The word of Truth muſt be our judge; therefore now let it be our Counſellor. It is *Philpots* Gloſſe upon *Iohn* 12. *verſ.* 48 (*The word that I have ſpoken ſhall judge him in the laſt day*) *if the word ſhall judge us, then much more ought it to be a judge of our doings now.*

2. Quere. Concerning your Families.

Have you ſet up *Truth* in your owne families? It is moſt odious for a Miniſter of Chriſt to flatter, to dawbe with untempered morter at any time; but moſt abominable upon a Day of Humiliation. You reckon your houſe, your little Common-wealth; by what law is it governed? Doth the word of *Truth*, the Scepter of righteouſneſſe beare ſway there? Whence then ſo much licentiouſneſſe tolerated in the ſervants? ſo much diſſoluteneſſe in the children? ſo much oppreſſion, tyranny, and (too often) other wickedneſſe in your ſelves, and ſuch diſtempers in family relations? *Pſal.* 101. *verſ.* 2. *David* would *walke in his houſe with a perfect heart.* Such as ſerved him, he would either finde them, or make them Gods ſervants. You would have others thinke your houſes are Churches. What thy houſe a Church to God, and thou a *covetous idolater?* Thy houſe a Church to God, and thou an uncleane ſonne of Belial? *What concord hath*

Epheſ. 5. 5.

Chriſt

Chriſt with Belial? what agreement hath the Temple of God with idols? The argument is as ſtrong for Magiſtrates as for Miniſters, 1 *Tim.* 3. 5. *If a man know not how to rule his owne houſe, how ſhall hee take care of the Church of God?* How can you be good Reformers both of State and Church, unleſſe you be firſt Reformers of your ſelves, and your owne Families? Light is a great advantage to an houſe, eſpecially the light of *Truth*. The *Father of Lights*, is not pleaſed to dwell in a *darke habitation*, ſuch a corner is fitter for Satan, the Prince of darkneſſe. It was a very honourable report, which *Melanchthon* giveth of *Prince Anhalt*, *Cubiculum ejus erat, Academia, curia, Templum*; His Bed-chamber was an Academie, a Court, a Temple. The Lord gives you a ſhare in this honour. Let not your Chambers be *Academies* onely, for the advancement of learning; or *Courts*, for the daily diſpatch of publique affaires; but *Temples* for the worſhip of God, and calling upon his name. Give the people not onely Rules, but examples of Reformation. Let Religion be firſt advanced *in you*, it will the ſooner bee ſetled *by you*.

2 Cor. 6. 15, 16.

Delicata res eſt ſpiritus Dei.

Have you imployed and improved your publique intereſts to help forward the trade of *Truth*, to promote Religion in the *Libertie*, *Puritie*, and *Power* of it? Never was any Parliament the ſonne of ſo many *prayers* and *teares*. Never had any a larger ſhare in that bleſſing of the Lord upon *Ioſeph*, *Deut.* 33. *verſ.* 16. feeling the *good*

3. Quære. Concerning the publique.

will

will of Him that dwelt in the buſh, ſo often burning, yet *not conſumed*. What reciprocall reall love have you expreſſed unto God, and the Cauſe of his *Truth*.

When *Moſes* propoſed that queſtion, *Exod. 32. verſ. 26. Who is on the Lords ſide? The ſons of Levi gathered themſelves together, verſ. 27.* and by their zeale, obtained a bleſſing in *Moſes* his Catalogue, when their brother *Simeon* was left out, *Deut. 33. verſ. 9.* We live in ſhedding, diſcriminating times, it is a frequent queſtion, *quarum partium?* On what ſide are you? If this be the queſtion, who is on *Truths* ſide, what eccho, what anſwer will you returne, oh you great Counſellors? Suppoſe this day, God and thy Conſcience held a Cloſet Committee, the Lord ſaith, I have put ſuch a rich price into thy hand, I have betruſted thee with an influence in the Grand Affaires of the Church? what ſaith Conſcience? *What haſt thou done? what will thou doe, by ſpeaking, voting, by hand, heart, purſe, for the Truth? Davids* queſtion is moſt ſeaſonable, *1 Chron. 29. verſ. 5. Who is willing to conſecrate his ſervice this day unto the Lord?* Oh that you might returne the ſame pious anſwer, with the chiefe of the Fathers, and Princes of the Tribes; who *all offered willingly, verſ. 6.* Could you finde this fruit upon your Self-examination, Doubtleſſe though you may ſerve this day in ſorrow (as you ought to doe upon a Soul-afflicting day (in ſighes, in groanes, in teares) yet you ſhall reape in joy.

To

To engage and quicken your utmost endeavours for the happy purchase of truth. *Use 2. Exhortation.*

You may please to looke upon your selves (Honourable and Beloved) in a double capacity.

First, as *Merchants*, trading for your owne everlasting good.

Then as *Publique Factors*, betrusted with the best good of many hundred thousands.

In a Merchant or Factor there are some speciall Requisites, 1. *Wisdome.* 2. *Activity.* 3. *Resolution.* Three Requisites in a Factor

First, *Wisdome*, to discerne both the Commodities themselves, and opportunities of trading. 1 Requisite, Wisdome.

The first use of Wisdome is to discerne the *Commodities* themselves. Religion must not be taken upon trust. Faith is Gods way to save us, credulity the devils method to undoe us. 1 *Thess.* 5. 21. *Try all things, hold fast that which is good.* And by sound knowledge possesse your selves most carefully of such truthes, as are most necessary. Those that are *Fundamentalia in fide*, or *in Praxi*, buy them at *any rate*, but sell them at *no rate*. There are *Magnalia*, and *minutula legis*. It will argue much hypocrisie to be substantiall in circumstantiall truthes, and circumstantiall in the substantials of Faith and Repentance. Let us wisely proportion our zeale, according to the nature of the truths themselves. This Counsell *Paul* giveth his *Titus*. Matters of consequence, he must *affirme constantly*, but, *avoid needlesse questions*, *Tit.* 3. 8. 1. *Maximis difficultatibus non sunt minores istæ redimendæ veritates. Acontius de St. Sat.*

It were a ſeaſonable improvement of your Wiſedome and Power, to hinder the *Devils* or *Popes Chapmen*, from opening their packes of *adulterate wares*, and to put an high value upon ſuch precious *parcels of Truth*, as have a great influence both into *Doctrinall and practicall Religion*. Give me leave here in the behalfe of Truth, to ſuggeſt ſome briefe hints.

1. Firſt, Put in caveats againſt *Arminian* errours, which doe ſo extenuate originall ſinne, and magnifie the power of nature, that they feed our hereditary *diſeaſe of pride*, and eclipſe the *glory of Gods grace*. Oh trade for the doctrine of free grace. Maintaine the King of Heavens Prerogative. In the ſpirituall building, grace laid the firſt foundation, in Gods free, eternall purpoſe. Grace erecteth the wals, yea and addeth the top-ſtone. Eternity will be little enough to admire, to adore, to cry grace, grace; Therefore carefully poſſeſſe your ſelves of this truth againſt *the enemies of grace*.

2. Secondly, Minde the promoting of thoſe Truthes which juſtifie *The purity of Divine Worſhip*, according to Gods owne will, againſt Popiſh and ſuperſtitious innovators. There is a bewitching pompe in the outſide of popery, which intangleth ſome. Ancient Writers uſed many wanton Metaphors, and ſuch a liberty of expreſſion, before the myſtery of iniquity was diſcovered, which deluded others. There is a diſpoſition in all corrupt natures, no leſſe to ſpirituall then bodily fornication. Vindicate therefore the ſecond Commandement, which Papiſts have expunged, and others ſo much clouded. Where God

God hath professed himselfe jealous, let us be zealous, of trading for such Truthes.

Thirdly, Put a value upon such Truthes as discover the dangerous errours of *Socinianisme*, which is no better then a *Complication of many antient heresies*, condemned by ancient Councels. A Doctrine that undermineth the merit and satisfaction of our Saviours death; that will scarce allow faith to swimme, where reason cannot wade; that will so farre bring downe Religion to reason, that we must beleeve little more in Divinity, then we can see in reason. *Arminianisme* gratifieth the *pride of will*, *Popery* the *pride of outward sense*, and *Socinianisme* the *pride of carnall reason*. 3.

Fourthly, Let Truthes for the sanctification of the *Lords day*, be pretious truthes. Gods institution of that day, bringeth with it a speciall Character of holinesse, and an influence of a peculiar blessing, *God hath sanctified and blessed it*. Yea, in the primitive times it was a badge of Christianity. When the question was propounded, *Servasti Dominicum? Hast thou kept the Lords day?* The answer was, *Christianus sum, intermittere non possum, I am a Christian, I cannot neglect it*. There was no little danger in the Anti-sabbatarian doctrine, seeing upon Gods owne day, we professe publiquely our communion with God in his Ordinances. Then we expect to enjoy the richest influence from him. And if men could dispute away our *Christian Sabbath*, we should soone lose the vigour of our *practicall Religion*. God having made it holy by Institution, by Ordination, let us keepe it holy by Observation. 4. Exod. 20. 11. Ezek. 20. 12.

2. The second use of Wisdome in Factors, is to know and consider their opportunities. *Ephes.* 5.15, 16. *See that ye walke circumspectly, not as fooles but as wise, redeeming the time.* *Hierusalem* in this was, as unwise, as unhappy, that she knew not the day of her visitation, *Luke* 19.41,42. Who did expect such *nutus providentiæ, hints of divine providence,* as God hath afforded to unworthy *England* in these two last yeares, to repossesse her of that Truth which many thought departing? The Philistins had almost taken our Arke. Our friends, our enemies, ourselves, our owne guiltinesse passed a sentence of death upon us. We discovered so many leakes in ships of Church and State, as if both were sinking. The tempest was great, our Saviour seemed to be asleepe, our onely refuge was to cry, *Lord save us, we perish, Mat.* 8.25. The sword hath rid circuit for above twenty yeares in *Germany*; many Candlesticks of Truth thence removed; that Paradise almost turned into a Wildernesse. Poore *Ireland* is in danger to lose that Religion they had, with their estates and lives, Preachers hanged, Professors murdered, Bibles burnt, and all with prodigious cruelty and blasphemy, &c. Yet sinfull *England*, like *Gideons* fleece, dry in comparison, when others steeped in their owne blood. Judg. 6.40. Observe, I beseech you, like wise Factors, the seasons to trade for the sterling true Religion. It is true, we are now full of sad distractions; blacke and bloody clouds beginne to gather; yet, may not Faith (through them) spy out the Sunne of righteousnesse shining graciously upon unworthy *England?* As *Hag.* 2.7. *I will shake all Nations, and the desire of*

Opportunitas est maximum talentum.

all Nations shall come, and I will fill this House with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts. Historians report, that about the yeare 1517. when *Leo* the tenth was making some thirty Cardinals, there was such a terrible tempest in the Church, that shaked the Babe out of the Virgin *Maries* armes, and the Keyes out of Saint *Peters* hands, which they interpreted as ominous, and indeed so it proved; shortly after *Luther* arose, who so much battered the Popes power. The sword is already shaken out of our great Church-mens hand, by Parliamentall power, the keyes doe not hang so fast under their girdle, as they did, &c. We dare not but hope, these are engaging providences of God, earnest-pennies of some great payment yet behinde. Oh therefore know, and redeeme your Opportunities to Trade for Truth.

2 Requisite, Activity.

Activity, to pursue occasions, and follow all advantages. If you would be fully possessed of the knowledge of the Truth, you must *seeke for her as for Silver, and search for her as for hid Treasure, Prov.* 2. 4. By a most unwearyed industry, search every Mine. *Plato* calleth Merchants, Planets, that wander from City to City. You will never trade for Truth in good earnest, till you expresse an inquisitive, active disposition, in the cause of Religion, knocking at every doore, plying every Market, where you may purchase any acquaintance with the Truth.

First, Goe not onely to the shop of Nature, or the Schoole of Philosophy. The candle which Nature affordeth us, is good; but it will be burnt out before

we come to our journeyes end. Philoſophy may ſeeke Truth, Theology findeth it, Religion doth poſſeſſe it. Philoſophy is not the field wherein the pearle of Truth lyeth, but rather a hedge and ditch about the field, to defend it, from the invaſion of ſubtill Diſputants.

Veritatem Philoſophia quærit, Theologia invenit, Religio poſſidet. P. Mirand.

Secondly, Neither muſt we ſeeke Truth, onely in the decrees of Councells, in the Traditions and teſtimonies of the Church. *Councells* are like Rivers of water, very profitable, ſo long as they hold themſelves within the compaſſe of the banckes, but if they ſwell and overflow (as too often they have done) they prove very hurtfull to the field of the Church, even to Truth it ſelfe. The *Councell of Conſtance* commeth in with a *non obſtante* againſt Chriſts inſtitution, with-holding the Cup from the Sacrament.

Clem. Alexand. Licet Chriſtus poſt cœnam inſtituerit & ſuis Diſcipulis adminiſtraverit ſub utraque ſpecie panis et vini hoc venerabile Sacramentum; tamen hoc non obſtante Sacrorum canonum autoritas, & approbata conſuetudo Eccleſiæ ſervavit & ſervat. Caranza ſum. Concil. Seſſ. 13.

Our Faith and Truth was at firſt *delivered to the Saints, Jude ver. 3.* And we hold it ſtill *per Eccleſiam*, though not *propter Eccleſiam*, by the *Miniſtery of the Church*, though not for the *Autority of the Church*, *John 4. 42.* All they who are genuine children of the Church, not onely by the Mothers ſide, but by the Fathers alſo, will not onely beleeve as the Church beleeveth, but as their Heavenly Father teacheth them, and becauſe he teacheth them.

Autoritas Eccleſiæ eſt autoritas muneris, non juriſdictionis. Camer.

Thirdly, But in ſearching out for the Truth, goe to Chriſt himſelfe, who is *Truth* it ſelfe, *John 14. 6. Jeſus ſaith unto him, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.* Attend upon Chriſt in the uſe of his Word, which is a Word of Truth, *Prov. 8. 34.* Bleſſed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my

Ego ſum via, quæ ad veritatem duco; ego ſum veritas, quæ vitam promitto; ego ſum vita, quam da. Bernard.

gates,

gates, *Waiting at the posts of my doores.*

If ever God ripen your Councells about a Synod, we hope to receive the same direction from you, that *Constantine the Great* gave the Councell of *Nice*. Take the Resolution of things in question, out of *Divinely inspired writings*. Doe not onely bid us enquire what Reformation was in our *Josiahs* time, King *Edward* the sixth; nor what in our *Deborahs* dayes, Queene *Elizabeths*, (though we must for ever blesse God for the light that appeared in those times) Doe not onely put us upon inquiry what *Ignatius* said, or what *Cyprian* did; they must be very wise Children who know their Fathers faces and writings, after so many of their adversaries scratches. Rather bid us give you an account, what *Luke* holdeth forth in his story of the *Acts* of the Apostles, what *Paul* intimates in his Epistles, that so divine Truth may triumph, and we enjoy a Scripture Reformation. In divine things we may attribute somewhat to antiquity, yet in matters that concerne *Church pompe*, and *Church power*, we must be *jealous* how we trust the *Ancient Fathers*, because (good men) they saw the mystery of iniquity but darkely, and at a distance, which wrought strongly, not onely in corrupting *Doctrine* with *errours*, but *Divine Worship* with *Ceremonies* and *Church Government* with *tyrannicall usurpations*. Then, and then onely, is Truth like to triumph in Church-Assemblies, when Gods Word is there advanced. *Cyrill* saith, in a Synod at *Ephesus*, upon a high Throne in the Temple, there lay, *Sanctum Evangelium*, the holy Gospell, to shew that Christ was both present and president there.

Τῶν ζητημάτων λύσιν ἐκ τῆς θεοπνεύστου λάβωμεν.

Resolu-

3 Requisite, Resolution.

Resolution, to backe a publique Factors wise Activity. This would make you willing to grapple with difficulties, to expose your selves to troubles and hazzards, and to be at any cost and charges, that you may possesse your selves and the Kingdome of the true Religion.

Poore *England* hath long beene in a travelling condition, felt many bitter pangs, findeth now twins in her wombe, *Jacobs* and *Esaus*, wrastling for the birth-right, high contestations betwixt *Elias* and *Baalls* Priests, now it is a day of *trouble and astonishment*: Great things are come to the birth, onely there wanteth strength to bring forth. What will you resolve to lay out to possesse this dis-jointed Kingdome of the Truth? Imagine the casting of the ballance, the composing of all Church difference depended upon thee alone, what wouldest thou contribute to purchase Truth? *Nazianzen* put this price upon his *Athenian learning* (wherein he was very famous) that he had something of value to part with all for Christ; Oh that you could say the same of your Honours and Estates, reckoning this the goodnesse of all your good things, that you are enabled to doe good with them in the cause of Christ and his Truth. It was Heroicall zeale in *Basill*, who for his constant and bold defending of the Truth against the *Arian heresie*, being threatned death by *Valens* the Emperour, answered, *Oh that I might dye for the truth!*

2 Chron. 29. 8.

I beseech you (Noble Worthies) by the many *Petitions* you have had from men, by the *solemne Protestations* you have made to God, by his wonder-

working

working *Providence* about you, and by the *dependance* the Proteſtant *cauſe* abroad hath upon you, ſtirre up your *Reſolution* in the behalfe of Truth. Would you have the name of this *Parliament* embalmed with everlaſting perfume? Improve your power for the true Religion. Juſtifie our *Magna Charta*, the grand Charter of Scripture truthes, that doth entitle us to Salvation. Confirme unto us our *Petition of Right*, eſtabliſh upon Paſtors and Churches, ſo much intereſt in the power and uſe of the Keyes, as the Word of Truth doth allow them. Maintaine amongſt us a free courſe of trading for eternall happineſſe, ſet and keepe open thoſe ſhops, ſuch Pulpits, ſuch mouthes, as any Prelaticall uſurpations have, or would have, ſhut up. Secure to us not onely liberty of perſon and eſtate, but alſo liberty of Conſcience from Church tyranny, that we be not pinched with enſnaring oathes, clogged with multiplyed ſubſcriptions, or needleſſe impoſitions, which will rather increaſe then compoſe diſtractions. Together with *Priviledges of Parliament*, let us have *Church-priviledges vindicated*, helpe us to purge out *that old leaven*, whether of *Doctrine*, of *Diſpoſition*, or *Perſons*, that we may have Sacraments more purely adminiſtred, according to the rule of Truth; let us be ſure of this *Militia*, inviolably ſetled, the ſword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, *Epheſ.* 6. 17. Guard that *Magazine*, wherein are laid up the weapons of *our warfare*, that *are mighty through God, to the pulling downe of ſtrong holds*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 4. So ſhall we be put into a good poſture for Reformation.

3 Requiſite, Reſolution.

Reſolution, to backe a publique Factors wiſe Activity. This would make you willing to grapple with difficulties, to expoſe your ſelves to troubles and hazzards, and to be at any coſt and charges, that you may poſſeſſe your ſelves and the Kingdome of the true Religion.

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working *Providence* about you, and by the *dependance* the Proteſtant *cauſe* abroad hath upon you, ſtirre up your *Reſolution* in the behalfe of Truth. Would you have the name of this *Parliament* embalmed with everlaſting perfume? Improve your power for the true Religion. Juſtifie our *Magna Charta*, the grand Charter of Scripture truthes, that doth entitle us to Salvation. Confirme unto us our *Petition of Right*, eſtabliſh upon Paſtors and Churches, ſo much intereſt in the power and uſe of the Keyes, as the Word of Truth doth allow them. Maintaine amongſt us a free courſe of trading for eternall happineſſe, ſet and keepe open thoſe ſhops, ſuch Pulpits, ſuch mouthes, as any Prelaticall uſurpations have, or would have, ſhut up. Secure to us not onely liberty of perſon and eſtate, but alſo liberty of Conſcience from Church tyranny, that we be not pinched with enſnaring oathes, clogged with multiplyed ſubſcriptions, or needleſſe impoſitions, which will rather increaſe then compoſe diſtractions. Together with *Priviledges of Parliament*, let us have *Church-priviledges vindicated*, helpe us to purge out *that old leaven*, whether of *Doctrine*, of *Diſpoſition*, or *Perſons*, that we may have Sacraments more purely adminiſtred, according to the rule of Truth; let us be ſure of this *Militia*, inviolably ſetled, the ſword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, *Epheſ.* 6. 17. Guard that *Magazine*, wherein are laid up the weapons of *our warfare*, that *we mighty through God, to the pulling downe of ſtrong holds*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 4. So ſhall we be put into a good poſture for Reformation.

A resolution, in the prosecution of these religious Designes, then may you confidently expect Christs glorious and gracious presence amongst you. *Luther* would assure you thereof, *Where the Word of Christ doth raigne*, saith he, *there are the eyes of Christ fixed on the holy Professors of Truth, but where the Word of man reigneth, although there were as many Popes, as there be leaves in the wood, and as many Cardinals, as graines of Corne, &c.* As many Bishops, as *drops of water in the Sea, and all of them glistering in Gold and Jewels, Gemmati, purpurati, nitidi, & ornati, to maintaine their owne Lawes, yet are Christs eyes turned away from them.*

Luther. de alt. reg. miss. privat.

2 Proposition. *Truths though it must be bought, yet it may not be sold.*

The Wisedome of Scripture directs us to severall purchases, *Isai.* 55. 1. Every *thirsty* soule is invited to *Come and buy Waters, Wine,* and *Milke*; Seeke to Christ upon his termes, for variety of sweet Soule-mercies; *Rev.* 3. 18. We are counselled to buy of Christ, *Gold tryed in the fire*, the pure graces of Gods Spirit, and the purity of Ordinances; *Ephes.* 5. 16. *We must be redeeming the time*, not only taking opportunities of doing and receiving good when they are offered, and *seeking* them when they are wanting, but *buying* them at any price. And indeed Christians should be Chapmen to buy, rather then Salemen to sell. We are commanded to buy, that we may possesse, the end of this possession is use; what Spirituall commodities we have purchased, we

must Improve for God and our Souls, but not alienate them from our selves.

There are three sorts of *Huckſters* will be ready to engrosse the Truth from you, if you be willing to sell it. Three sorts of of Huckſters.

Malignant persecutors, are engrossing *Huckesters*, who watch to interrupt the liberty of the Truth. These, even as *Jannes* and *Jambres* withstood *Moses*, *resist the Truth, men of corrupt mindes, Reprobates concerning the Faith*, 2 *Tim*. 3. 8. And indeed, therefore resist the Truth, because their mindes are so corrupt. Such the Apostle cals ἄτοπος, absurd men, 2 *Thess*. 3. 2. Men compact of meere incongruities, solæcising in opinion, speeches, actions, and whole life; yea *unreasonable* men, *For all men have not Faith*, *ver*. 2. *Religion* is the highest *Reason*, nothing more irrationall then irreligion. From such spirits arose those conspiracies against the Apostle, endevouring to scotch the Charriot-wheeles of Truth, when they began first to move. No sooner did *Steven* plead for Truth, but some were suborned against him, *Act*. 6. 11. No sooner did *Saul* beginne to Preach the Truth, but opposers began to consult to kill him, *Act*. 9. 23. Though not long before he had beene a busie *Apparitor* and *Pursevant*, to Arrest the Saints, and dragge them to their *High-Commission*, *Act*. 9. 1. [A strange and suddaine change in them, as well as in him.] *Origen* saith of the Devils; *No greater torment to them, then to see men addicted to the Scriptures*. The same temper of spirit appeares in the

1. Sort of huckſters of Truth.

Qui ἄτοπα faciunt, quæ minime conveniunt. Pisc.

Acts 4. & 5. ch.

Origen, Num. hom. 27. in hoc eorum omnis flamma est, in hoc uruntur incendio.

devils agents upon the killing of the witneſſes, *Rev.* 11. 10. *They that dwelt upon the earth ſhall rejoyce over them*, and make merry, and *ſhall ſend gifts one to another, becauſe theſe two Prophets tormented them that dwell on the earth*; And therefore they will adventure peace of Conſcience, and hope of Heaven, yea, the whole ſtocke upon it, that they may buy up Truth out of the Churches hands; and ſometimes malice riſes to ſuch an height, that even in *England* the *Bible* muſt be burnt, as *ſtrange Doctrine*.

Tanquam Doctrina peregrina.

Seducing Heretickes, whoſe endevour is to corrupt the *purity* of Truth. The great Apoſtaſy from the Faith, 1 *Tim.* 4. 1. is brought about by giving *heed to ſeducing ſpirits*. The Pope hath many Emiſſaries abroad, who joyne with the Devill, ſtudying a method of Soule-deceiving, and Truth-betraying. Compare *Ephe.* 4. 14. μεθοδίαν τῆς πλάνης, with *Epheſ.* 6. 11. μεθοδίας τοῦ διαβόλου, you ſhall find the devill and deceivers artificially methodizing their ſnares to draw us from the Truth, 2 *Pet.* 2. 1. False teachers have alwayes practiſed to bring in *damnable hereſies*. The beginnings of groſſe errours may be modeſt; yea, the fouleſt Hereſies may at firſt appeare with faire faces. The Serpent creepes into the Paradiſe of the Church by degrees: as 2 *Cor.* 11. 3. his plot is to corrupt peoples mindes, *From the ſimplicity that is in Chriſt*. First, he will puzzle them with a queſtion, as he did *Eve*, put a command of God, a knowne Truth to be diſputed, then helpe them to mint ſome diſtinctions, (which are not alwayes ſo happy in Divinity as in Philoſophy) thereby to relieve and helpe in an error.

A Sort of Huckſters of Truth.

And

And here it may be observed, though these men have the same designe with malignant persecutors, to engrosse the Truth, yet cunningly they will buy it up by parcels, that they may be the lesse discerned. They will trade first in *names*, then in *things*, first habituate us to call our Ministers *Priests*, our Communion Tables, *Altars*, before they impose superstitious gestures. This was the *Rhemists* straine of policy. *Let us keepe our old words, and we shall easily keepe our old Faith.* *Rhem. Test.* 1 Tim. 6.20.

This graduall Huckstering up the putity of truth, is most cleare in Image worship. At first, Images and pictures of Saints were used in private, for Memory, History, or Ornament onely. Afterwards with like colour of pretence brought into the Church in *Gregories* dayes, yet with expresse prohibition of worshipping them; Afterward the second *Synod* of *Nice* enjoynes it, though more modestly, and *respectively onely in regard of that which they represent*; But since the counsell of *Trent*, it's risen to grosse Idolatry. *Bellarm. de Imag. Sanct. l. 2. c. 21.*

Neutrall Politicians, who will be buying Truth out of our hands, by formalizing and enervating the *power* of it, till at last they leave us an heartlesse and sapplesse Religion. Among the Lawes of *Solon*, there was one which thundred against such, who in a civill uproare amongst the Citizens, sit still as neutrall spectators. It were happy for the Church, if there were a more strict course taken against all lukewarme Machivillians, who by their neutrality undermine Religion; of this straine was *Jeroboam*, that grand Politician, who created to himselfe a State

3 Sort of Huckslers of Truth. *Plut. in vita Solon*

Religion; out of Love to his Crowne, he set up *golden Calves*, he hindred the people from going to worship God at *Jerusalem*, lest they should turne
1 Kings 12.27 28. againe *unto their Lord, unto Rehoboam King of Judah*. Worldly wise men, as they are time-servers, so they are selfe-servers, and whatsoever become of Christ and his truth, selfe shall be advanced into the Throne; such mens heads over-match their hearts, their policy out-runneth their Religion; when the glory of Christ and his Gospell come in competition with their selfe ends, selfe shall first be gratifyed; most unlike to *Paul*, who *Phil.* 1. 20. [illegible], stood as it were on tip-to, looking earnestly after the magnifying of *Christ*, whatever became of himselfe, *Whether in his life, or in his death*.

I may produce three Reasons to fortify you against selling Truth to any Hucksters.

1. *Reason.* Truth is in it selfe a *precious Jewell*, of most incomparable worth, gained into the possession of the Churches, not without much difficulty; and therefore cannot without great disparagement to its excellency, and to the zeale of others, be alienated and chaffered away.

Gospell Truth at first cost the blood of Christ, then watered with the blood of many Martyrs, which made it throng up so plentifully. It is observeable, the Church hath beene seldome fully possessed of any Grand Truth, without much debate, without some bloody sufferings. How deare did it cost *Athanasius* to justifie the Divinity of Christ, against the *Arians*? and shall we suffer any of that

Nil tam certum quam quod post dubium certum.

kindred

kindred to buy it againe out of our hands? How courageously did *Augustine* rescue the *Doctrine* of *Grace*, from the *Pelagians* hands, whom he calls the *Enemies* of *Grace*: and shall we suffer it to be betrayed to their Brethren the *Arminians*?

How faire did *Luther* hazard himself to advance *Justification by Faith in Christ*? It is a grosse shame that sweete Truth should be lost in the language of any *Innovators*, who will have workes to concurre in *eodem genere causæ*, to share equally with Faith in the very act of justifying.

Many of our ancient Worthies, like *Wisedomes Children*, *Matth.* 11. 19. set themselves to *justifie Wisedome*; they have endevoured with much *sweat*, and many *teares*, yea, with their *deerest bloud*, to settle the Churches Land-markes by evidence of *Scripture Arguments*, and to bound the Truth by *Decrees of Councels*; we must not prodigally dispossesse our selves of such a Treasure.

We reape the fruite of our Reformers zeale, who bestirred themselves so much against Popish Altars, and other Church usurpations for the purging of Religion in *England*.

God forbid, that we should fall for trifles, when they possessed us of with so much diligence. It concernes us rather to concurre with them, yea, to promote their beginnings with all our might, that we may have such Churches, such Officers, such election and ordination, such jurisdiction, such exercise of Church power, and all such administrations as are most agreeable to the Truth.

Truth is the Churches Talent, committed to her trust,

2 *Reason.* Rom. 3, 2.

trust, and therefore must not be sold. Trust being a strong obligation to fidelity. Upon this ground the Apostle, *Jude ver.* 3. Exhorts Christians to *Contend earnestly for the Faith, once delivered to the Saints.* You must never expect another edition of the Faith, (God reserved that solemne change from Jewish to Evangelicall worship, for the Inauguration of his Sonne) zealously strive for this Faith you have, against all opposition. In that knowne place, so much abused by Papists, 1 *Tim.* 3. 15. The Church of *Ephesus* (this cannot be appropriated to the Church of *Rome*) is *the pillar and ground of Truth.* Not a pillar to *uphold*, but to hold forth Truth, not so much θεμέλιον as ὑπόμνημα, the seate of Truth; every pure Church being a depository of Truth, where it is to be found, as the candle in the Candlesticke. All the sonnes of Wisedome have a share in that of *Paul* to *Timothy*, 1 *Tim.* 6. 20. *O Timothy keepe that which is committed to thy Trust.*

Στολος not *sensu architectonico* but *forensi.*

This made the primitive Worthies so conscientiously zealous in the cause of Truth; and that not onely of many Truthes, but even of formes of speeches, of syllables, yea of Letters. The difference betwixt the Councell of *Nice* and *Arius*, was but in a Letter, whether ὁμοούσιος, or ὁμοιούσιος. The controversie whereupon the Greeke and Latine Churches broke, touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, depended upon two prepositions, ἐκ and διὰ. The monstrous heresie of *Nestorius* lay but in one poore letter, θεοδόχος for θεοτόκος, when he would not gratifie the Church therein, as *Cyrill* desired him, many *Bishops* rose up against him, so religious were they, that

they

that they would not exchange a letter, or syllable of the Faith, wherewith their Saviour had betrusted them.

Selling Truth is the worst, the most undoing Trade; it lets to sale both Gods glory, and your owne Salvation, being it opens a doore to both extreames in Religion, to Prophaneness, and to Superstition. 3 *Reason.* Selling Truth opens a doore,

The Schoole of Christ is indeed a Schoole of affection, and of action, but first of knowledge, we must have science before we shall make conscience of our wayes. This makes the god of this world, the Devill, bestirre himselfe to blinde peoples mindes, *Lest the Light of the glorious Gospell of Christ should shine into them*: he well knew that darkenesse of mind, betrayes us to workes of darkenesse. When men walke in the darke, *They know not at what they stumble, Prov.* 4. 19. They will stumble at Christ himselfe, at the strictnesse and purity of his wayes, and soone plunge themselves into the grossest wickednesse. 1 To Prophaneness.

In a Synod at London Anselme forbad Priests Marriage in England, and in the next yeare were discovered a great company of Sodomites among st them. Such is the wofull fruit of selling Truth, which would be a spur, quickning to good, and a bridle restraining from evill. It is no wonder to find such treacherous practices amongst the Papists, their erroneous doctrines open the sluces unto them. Upon a sleight confession of sinne, they may receive a cheape absolution, and thereby are emboldned to renue the commission of it. That *Taxa pœnitentiaria*, amongst the Papists; *Alsted. Ann.* 1102.

piſts, that low rate which is put upon the greateſt ſinnes in the Popes Cuſtome houſe; ſo contrary to the word of Truth, *Rom. 6. 23. The wages of ſinne is Death*, encourages people to the greateſt prophanneſſe.

2 To Superſtition.

Ignorance of the Truth is a fruitefull mother and helpefull nurſe, both to prophaneneſſe of practice, and to ſuperſtition in devotion. See it at *Athens, Act. 17. 22,23.* There they were fondly ſuperſtitious, where their Altar had this inſcription, *To the unknowne God. Aquinas* attributes the inchoation of Idolatry it ſelfe, *To the inordinacy of our affection*, and our *Ignorance of the true God.* Whence came ſuperſtition ſo much to ſwarme in the darke ages of the Church? becauſe they neglected the word of Truth, and followed Traditions. Hence it is obſerved that Learning and Religion have falne and riſen together. When the light of Truth hath beene eclipſed, by the decay of learning; the heate of Religion hath much declined. The weedes of ſuperſtition, *ſponte naſcuntur*, will grow of their owne accord in darke corners; as having advantage of the ſoile, ſo much connaturallneſſe to peoples corrupt hearts. The Popes Chaplaines need not take much paines to teach ignorant ſoules to be ſuperſtitious; If Orthodoxe Preachers of the Truth be but ſuſpended, we ſhall ſoone have reaſon to complaine with that great man in the Councell of *Lateran*, *Piety is almoſt ſunke into Superſtition.*

Traditiones pontificiorum ſunt pandectæ errorum et Superſtitionum. Chemnit.

1 Uſe of caution.

Beware of expreſſing any indulgence unto ſuch, or holding any comphyance with them that ſell the Truth. The whole Tribe of *Benjamin* came to be extinguiſh-

extinguiſhed, except about ſixe hundred, onely for countenancing a few ſonnes of *Beliall* in *Gibeah*, who had abuſed a Levites Wife, *Judg.* 19. and 20. chap. Chriſt was angry with ſome of the Churches, not onely for being active in evill, but paſſive of evill, *Rev.* 2. 14. 20. The Wiſedome of this great *Counſell* hath beene inquiſitive after monopoliſts, or any that encroach upon the Common-wealth. Give me leave to diſcover an unhappy *Church-confederacy*, whereby Truth hath beene ſhamefully ſold in many places.

There are foure ſorts of perſons, herein deepely engaged.

4 Sorts acceſſary to the ſelling of Truth.

Firſt, *Scandalous apoſtate Profeſſors* of the Truth, who alienate the Truth from themſelves, and alienate the mindes of others from the Truth. They make the word of *God blaſphemed*, *Tit.* 3. 5. Such are deſcribed with blacke Characters by *Jude* verſe 12, 13. *Theſe are ſpots in your feaſts of Charity, when they feaſt with you, feeding themſelves without feare; clouds they are without water, carryed about of windes; trees whoſe fruite withereth, without fruite, twice dead, plucked up by the rootes; Raging waves of the Sea, foming out their owne ſhame, wandring ſtarres, to whom is reſerved the blackneſſe of darkeneſſe for ever.* They are employed in evill workes, and they receive anſwerable wages. What unhappy markets ſuch carnall Goſpellers make for the Truth, you may read in many ſtories; amongſt the reſt, an *American Noble-man*, being perſwaded to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, demanded, Firſt, what place was ordained for ſuch as were *Baptized?* Anſwer was

1 Scandalous profeſſors.

made, *Heaven, and its joyes.* Secondly, what place for them who were not *Baptized*; Anſwer was returned, *Hell, and its torments.* Thirdly, which of theſe places was allotted for the *Spanyards*, it was anſwered *Heaven*; whereupon he renounced his intended Baptiſme, proteſting he would rather goe to *Hell* with the *unbaptized*, then bain *Heaven* with the *Spaniards.* Many fall out implacably with the Truth, becauſe they finde many profeſſors ſuch unſavory ſalt.

2 Ignorant and vitious Miniſters.

Secondly, *Ignorant and vicious Miniſters.* Some even idoll Prieſts, like the Idols of the heathen, *The worke of mens hands, they have mouthes but they ſpeake not; eyes have they but they ſee not; they have eares but they heare not, neither is there any breath in their mouthes; they that make them are like unto them, ſo is every one that truſteth in them,* *Pſalm.* 135. 15, 16, 17, 18. And indeed it is too often true, like Prieſt, like People, *Ier.* 5. 31. Such a creature is not to be found in Chriſts catalogue, who gave ſome Apoſtles, Prophets, Evangeliſts, Paſtors, Teachers. No Prince ever ſent dumbe Embaſſadors. *Bernard* reckoneth up theſe foure as ſtrange things, *Speculator cæcus, præcurſor claudus, præco mutus, doctor inſcius*; a blinde Watchman, a lame Harbinger, a dumbe Cryer, an ignorant Teacher; And indeed a Miniſter of a vicious life, though not groſſely ignorant, is as dangerous an enemy to true Religion, if not ſometimes worſe, as not barely with-holding, but corrupting and perverting Truth, like *Elymas* the Sorcerer, *Act.* 13. 10. Yea like *Eli* his Sonnes, 1 *Sam.* 2. 17. who made the *Offerings of the Lord* to be *abhorred*; their ungodly

Ephe. 4. 11. *Bernard.*

ungodly lives are often ſuch confutations of their owne and other mens Sermons, that many thereby are hardned againſt the Truth, *Ezek. 9. 6.* the deſtroying Angell was to beginne at the Sanctuary, and there, too often, beginnes prophaneneſſe. There hath beene long expectation, as there is indeed great need, of a *Parliament viſitation*; to finde out thoſe Chapmen, who will ſell Gods Truth, peoples ſoules, Church-purity with State-liberty, for the ſatisfaction of their luſts.

Thirdly, Such *Prelates as ordaine or ſupport* theſe *ignorant* and *vicious* Miniſters, I appeale to you, what groſſe betrayers of Truth they are. How happy had it beene for the Church in *England*, if they who pretend to ſucceed *Timothy*, had walked by that rule which *Paul* commended to him, 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. *Lay hands ſuddenly on no man*: but alas! many are *apoſcopi*, rather then *Epiſcopi*, as *Eſpencæus*, *by-ſeers*, rather then *over-ſeers*; hence ſuch ſwarmes in the Church of backe-friends unto truth. 3 Prelates ſupporting Ignorant & vitious Miniſters.

If you enquire when ſo many groſſe deformities crept into the Church, *Damaſus* will tell you; even then when the Biſhops put over the care and performance of Church affaires to others, that they might take their owne eaſe; like Harlots that put out their owne children to be nurſed by others, that themſelves in the meane time might ſatisfie their luſts; by ſuch remiſſeneſſe Truth was much ſmothered, with a multitude of weedes, that overgrew the Church. *Field* on chap. l. 5. c. 29.

Fourthly, *Selfe-ſeeking Patrons* are many times deepely accеſſary to the betraying of Truth, in preſenting 4 Selfe-ſeeking Patrons.

ſenting moſt unworthy Miniſters. The Lord knoweth how many are ſo farre from conſidering the concurring conſent of judicious Chriſtians (which was much valued in primitive times) that they neglect their truſt for the good of others, and their own ſoules. They will obtrude, too often, one of *Jeroboams Prieſts, one of the loweſt of the people*, 1 *Kings* 13. 33. They would not chuſe a Cooke to dreſſe their meate, that were like to poyſon them; not a Phyſitian (though a Kinſman) which would probably kill them; but, too often, preferre a dawbing Chaplaine, that will comply with their covetous, or licentious humour, though in the meane time the people be betrayed, and the Truth be ſold. Will you pleaſe to conſider what a ſad meeting this unhappy fraternity will have at the day of Judgment, if ſtill they perſiſt in truth-betraying. *Scandalous profeſſors*, will curſe their wicked Miniſters, whoſe examples poyſoned them. *Wicked Miniſters*, will cry woe, woe upon ſuch Prelates, who were indulgent to their unworthineſſe; and doubtleſſe the *Prelates* will be as ready to complaine of many Patrons, who firſt made the *livings ſcandalous* by withholding maintenance, and then by importunity thruſt a *ſcandalous Miniſter* upon them.

Plebs ipſa maxime habet poteſtatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel recuſandi indignos: quod & ipſum videmus de divina autoritate deſcendere. Cyp. ep. 68

Oh let it now appeare, that you will not ſuffer Religion to be betrayed by the leaſt indulgence to any of theſe evils. Conſider what *Sigiſmond* the Emperour ſaid in the Councell of *Conſtance*, where the Councell pretended to make a Reformation; one ſtood up and ſaid the Reformation muſt beginne at the *Fryer Minorites*; No, ſaid the Emperour, *Non; Mino-*

Minoritis, ſed à Majoritis incipiendum eſt, Let Reformation reach *Patron*, and *Prelate*, as well as *Miniſter* and *People*.

If you would diſcourage ſcandalous livers, ſuppreſſe ſcandalous Miniſters; if you would prevent a ſucceſſion of them, regulate the power of the keyes, tooke to ordination and juriſdiction: though your Bill againſt ſcandalons Miniſters were ripened and executed, yet if the *doore* of admiſſion into the *Church*, continue as large as now it is, the next age will ſwarme againe with the like Drones. And for the Truthes ſake, that you may ſilence all clamours, as if Reformation would diſcourage learning, and undoe the Church, make good your owne Orders. For the ſupport of an able Miniſtery, let Patrons and others deny themſelves, to raiſe a ſufficient and certaine maintenance, at leaſt open a vent to others Pietie and Charity, who will concurre with you, to afford oyle for burning and ſhining lampes, by reviving the hopeful *deſigne* of the *Feoffees*, or what other wayes, your zealous wiſdome ſhall ſuggeſt. A great *Civilian* telleth us how Church-maintenance came to be appropriated to the *Cloyſters* of *Monkes*, and how ſuch lands as they held, in ſundry Pariſhes, were freed from the payment of tithes to the Miniſters thereof; namely, it ſprang from this roote, they inſinuated that *Preaching* was not ſo neceſſary for the *ſalvation* of mens *ſoules*, as their *Praying*, in their *Religious Houſes*; *Preaching*, they ſaid, breedeth *Schiſme*, *Diſputes in Religion*, *&c.* It lyeth as a blot upon them, That by their undervaluing Preaching, many Congregations were robbed of their

Sir *Tho. Rid*, View of Civill Law. part 3. c. 4. Sect. 3.

their Miniſters maintenance, *Let it be Your Honour*, who have expreſſed ſuch a high eſteeme of Preaching, to endevour the re-endowing thoſe places with ſuch meanes, as may encourage faithfull witneſſes unto the Truth.

2 Vſe of direction.

To awaken *Your compaſsionate affection* towards many perſons and places, where truth is chaffered away; Religion is a riddle, a paradox, yea, a reproach among them. We ſhould appeare this day, as publique mourners, laying to heart, not onely *perſonall*, but *State evills*, even *Parliament* ſinnes. Is not this juſt matter of griefe, that in ſo many former Parliaments, the liberty, the purity, and the power of Religion hath beene ſo much neglected? *Ancient Lawes* have eſtabliſhed Church pompe, Power, Dignity, and Revenues; theſe are twiſted into the ſeverall Statutes, as if they would put in a politicke caveat againſt after alterations, without ſhaking the very Foundation, which is now one of the great objections againſt Reformation. Yea, how much hath Truth ſuffered by the indulgence that Old Parliament Lawes have expreſſed to Non-reſidency, Pluralities, and Inſufficiency of Miniſters. It hath beene enough if *Legit ut Clericus*, if he can ſay the *Confeſſion* in Latine, he muſt be betruſted with ſoules. Allow ſomething to the neceſſity of theſe darker times, yet now the very reaſon of ſuch being altered, God forbid that truth ſhould any longer be betrayed by an *unwarrantable latitude*. Oh pity your many thouſands of expecting Petitioners, who have had many yeares of ſad Sabbaths, and ſit downe ſtill in much ſorrow, complaining for want of Truth. You may

heare

heare their groanings in the words of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *chap.* 8.22. *Is there no balme in Gilead? Is there no Phyſitian there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?* What? cannot, will not, the Parliament heale us?

It was a ſtrange and dolefull viſion that *Ezekiel* had from God at *Hieruſalem*, when he ſaw ſo many ſinfull ſpectacles; an *image of jealouſy*, *Baals* Idoll, *Ezek.* 8. *v.* 5. then, a company of grave *ancient men*, every one in the *Chamber of his Imagery*, ver. 11, 12. the Jewiſh High-Commiſſion, according to ſome, in thoſe times deepely corrupted; poore *Women weeping for Tammuz*, ver. 14. weeping for the death of *Oſiris*, King of *Egypt*, and idolatrouſly adoring his image, which *Iſis* his wife had advanced; and *worſhips towards* the Sunne, *ver.* 16. Would it pleaſe you in your ſerious thoughts, to runne over this Church, this Kingdome, you might ſee in many places ſuch objects, that *Your eyes would much affect your hearts*. Though in all abominations, wee doe not runne parallell with *Hieruſalem*, in *Ezekiels* Viſion, yet ſuch wofull fruites of truth-ſelling, and truth-betraying, as may ſtirre up your affection, and awaken your Parliament actions. Ezek. 8. *Polan in locum.*

First, Caſt your compaſſionate *eyes* upon the *Schooles of the Prophets*, *the Churches Nurſeries*. Doe not petitions informe you that divers have there chaffered away Truth for errors; were *Whitaker* and *Reinolds* then *in vivis*, doubtleſſe they would bluſh to ſee *Bellarmine* and *Arminius* juſtified by many, rather then confuted. If no *Chambers* of *imagery* be there, yet are there not ſome *Chappels*, polluted rather 1.

ther then adorned with *Images*, *Altars*, and *Crucifixes*. If no *worſhipping* of the *Sunne* there, yet doe not too many pleade for, and practiſe, an ungrounded worſhiping toward the Eaſt? It cannot be thought unnaturalneſſe in a Sonne to repreſent the diſtempers of his Mother, to a Colledge of Phyſitians eſpecially when the experience of the deepe infection, which ſome of your beloved Sonnes got there, of the corruption of judgements, prophaneneſſe and ſuperſtition of practiſe, which many of your Miniſters brought thence, will witneſſe the ſame, that Truth hath beene ſhamefully betrayed, by too many in the Univerſities.

Munſter reporteth, *That the Iewes were baniſhed out of many Countryes of Chriſtendome, principally for poyſoning Springs and Fountaines.* All Friends to Truth had need pray that God would either remove or heale ſuch as have poyſoned the *Schooles* of the *Prophets*, the Fountaines of the Land. Our hopes are that God will put upon you (Noble Senators) the ſpirit of *Eliſha*, and helpe you to caſt into thoſe waters, ſuch *ſalt*, that the *Waters be healed*, that there be not from thence any more *barrenneſſe, or cauſing to miſcarry*, 2 *King.* 2. 19, 20. In *Exod.* 15. 23, 24, 25. When the people were come to *Marah*, *They could not drinke the waters, for they were bitter, and murmured againſt Moſes, ſaying, what ſhall we drinke?* ver. 25. *The Lord ſhewed him a tree, which when he had caſt into the waters, the waters were made ſweete*, Plant, and uphold wholeſome Lectures, in the Pulpit, as well as in the Chaire, (*A Service worthy of the Wiſdome and Power of a Parliament.*) Such *Trees* will ſweeten the waters

waters there, and drop ſuch fruite, as will much promote the trade of Truth abroad. How many *living ſtones*, yea how many *Builders* did famous *Perkins* hew, by Preaching a Lecture in *Cambridge*? many *Children* and *Fathers* begotten by his Miniſtery in a few yeares, to the great advancement of the Truth.

Secondly, Behold with the ſame compaſſion, *Cathedrall Churches*, and the woefull effects of *ſelling* the *Truth* in too many of them; The ſtrange *Veſtures* and *Geſtures*, *Images*, *&c.* in ſome of their Quires, intimating too much affinity with thoſe *Chambers of Imagery*, in their *abominations*, mentioned *Ezek.* 8. 10, 11, 12. Former Reformations left ſuch nettles growing there, that have ſince unhappily ſeeded many other Churches; yea, left ſo much duſt, not onely behinde the doore, but even in the very *Quire*, as hath beene eaſily blowne about into many corners. They glory in being called the *Mother Churches*, but they have too often proved *Stepdames* to their Daughters, engroſſing the maintenance, that ſhould provide the word of Truth for their Soules. What pity is it that *Cathedrall Societies*, which might have beene *Colledges* of learned *Tresbyters*, for the feeding and ruling City Churches, and *petty Academies*, to prepare Paſtours for neighbour places, ſhould be ſo often *Sanctuaries* for non-reſidents, and be made Nurceries to many ſuch Drones, who can neither Preach nor Pray, *otherwiſe then reade, ſay, or ſing their Prayers*; and in the meane time Truth much obſcured in a *Non-edifying pompe of ceremonious ſervice*. It was a notable deſigne of

Multitudine levissimarum ceremoniarum pene eſt extincta pietas et vis ſpiritus Sancti. Gerſon.

of thoſe Biſhops at *Bononia*, that gave *Pope Julius* the third this very Counſell, how to eſtabliſh the *Roman* Religion; *Let the people* (ſay they) *have pompous Prayers, Images, Tapers, Organs, and divers muſicall inſtruments in their Temples*; Theſe are things with which the people are much delighted, and being taken up with theſe, they almoſt forget that doctrine which is ſo deſtructive to us. Let your compaſſion move you to counter-worke all ſuch plots, as *Church-deformers* ſought to corrupt Cities, and places of confluence; ſo let thoſe that profeſſe themſelves *Church-Reformers*, when the Harveſt is greateſt, expreſſe the greateſt care to ſend forth moſt faithfull Labourers for the Truth, *Matth. 9. 36, 37.* This were to reſemble your Saviour.

Hæc ſunt quibus vulgus præcipue delectatur, et quorum gratia doctrinam illam quæ vobis exitialis eſt fere obliviscitur. p. 4.

3. Thirdly, Behold with weeping eyes the many *hundreds* of *Congregations*, in the Kingdome, where millions of Soules are like to periſh for want of Viſion; Truth is ſold from amongſt them, either by *Soule-betraying-non-reſidents*, *Soule-poyſoning-innovators*, or *Soule-pining-dry-nurſes*. In too many places the very *Image of jealouſie*, the *Idoll of the Maſſe* is ſet up, yea, the *Comedy of the Maſſe* acted, becauſe there wanteth the light of Truth to diſcover the wickedneſſe and folly of it.

Miſſa Comedia in P. Martyr.

Do not ſome of you that live on the Welch coaſts, cry out with your Neighbours, *Woe is me that I ſojourne in Meſeck, and that I dwell in the tents of Kedar*, *Pſalm.* 120. 5. Doe not ſome of you inhabit the North parts, where you may complaine (in the word of *Nicholas Clemang. pag.* 15.) How many *Prieſts* came to their *Benefices*, not from the *Schooles*, and

and their *study*, but from the *Ploughes*, and *servile Occupations*, which could neither *Reade*, *nor Understand Latine?* Where in many miles, not a Minister that can ὀρθοτομεῖν, and ὀρθοποδεῖν, *Preach*, and *live*, *Sermons*. I wish every *Parliament-man* had a map of the Soule-misery of the most of the *Ten thousand Churches and Chappels in England*; I hope it would draw forth your compassions, and stirre up your endevours to rescue Truth out of their hands, who would sell it, and set up the trade of Truth in poore darke Countries.

Had I the favour to preferre a Petition unto You in the name of *Universities*, *Chiefe Cities*, *Country Congregations*, yea, the *whole Kingdome*, and were sure of a propitious eare from you, I would summe up all in this clause, in this one breath: *Improve Your Power to helpe forward the Word of Truth, that it may runne and be glorifyed. This* would maintaine love and loyalty to our *Soveraigne*. Where hath he most hearty Prayers, but where Truth most prevailes? *This* would teach men to justifie the power, and comply with the *Authority of Parliaments*. Who have more undermined and maligned Parliaments, then such Ministers as first betrayed Truth? *This* is the way (if any) to reduce *seduced Papists*. Humane Lawes will pinch their purses. Send divine Truth amongst them, that may satisfie their consciences. This is the most Soveraigne meanes to compose Church-differences. Why doe we contend? (saith *Augustine*) are we not Brethren? *Our Father dyed not intestate, let his Will be publiquely produced, and all men will be quiet.* This is the best way to make the

2 Thes. 3. 1.

Contra Pontificiet parum Digibus aut libris profici, quousque firmum et idoneum ministerium in ecclesiis constitutum fuerit. Whitak.

Reformation thorow and laſting, becauſe this would engage the peoples hearts. 2 *Chron.* 20. 32,33. *Jehoſaphat did that which was right in the ſight of the Lord, Howbeit the high places were not taken away; for as yet the people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their Fathers.* *Joſiah*, a good King, did much, yet becauſe the peoples ſpirits were not wrought to concurre with him, the worke ſoone vaniſhed, and Gods Judgements brake in upon them. Goe on, therefore (Honourable Worthies): improving your influence to prevent the ſelling of Truth.

1. Firſt, Provide that every *Congregation* may have an able *Trumpet* of *Truth*.

2. Secondly, Eſpecially let *great Townes*, places of confluence, have Lectures, *Markets* of *Truth*.

3. Thirdly, Afford any faithfull *Paul* and *Barnabas* incouragement, yea, Power, if *Sergius Paulus* deſire to heare the Word of God, to goe and Preach, though *Elymas* the Sorcerer ſhould be unwilling; ſuch *ambulatory exerciſes* have brought both light and heate into darke and cold corners. Act. 13. 7. 8

4. Fourthly, What if there were ſome *Evangelicall, Itinerant Preachers*, ſent abroad upon a publique ſtocke to enlighten darke Countries? Thus might you reape glorious fruits of all your Counſels, teares, prayers, and paines, in ſeeing *Dagon* fall downe before the *Arke* of truth.

3 Vſe of Dehortation.] I have endevoured, (though in much weakneſſe) with *words* of *Truth* and *ſoberneſſe*, to p'ead the cauſe of *Truth*. I muſt end as an importunate Sollicitor: *O ſell not the true Religion upon any termes.* Much of my Rhetoricke to perſwade you is within you. I

ſpeake

ſpeake to your *ſelfe-love*, as you are *Men*; to your *conſciences*, as you are *Chriſtians*; to your *Wiſedome*, as you are *Stateſ-men*; to your *Honours*, as you are *Noble*: *Be alwayes buying, but never ſelling the Truth.* *England* hath had an happy taſte of your zeale for Truth, and againſt the corrupters and betrayers of the true Religion. The Lord from Heaven hath appeared mightily for you, when you appeared much for him in the cauſe of Truth. God forbid that ever this Parliament ſhould loſe any of it's firſt love to Religion, and the Reformation of it, then may you expect to drinke of *Solomons* bitter cup, *The Lord was angry with Solomon, becauſe his heart was turned from the Lord God of Iſrael, which had appeared to him twice.* God forbid that *Rhehum* the Chancellor and *Shimſhai* the Scribe, ſhould outſtrip *Zerubbabel*; That *Tobiah* and *Sanballat*, ſhould outbid *Nehemiah* in any cauſe of God. Rather let the malignancy of malignant oppoſers enflame your zeale for the Truth. O that we could now all cloſe this day of humiliation, with the proper worke of the day, covenanting with our God, making it our ſealing day; *Nehem.* 9. 38. At a ſolemne Faſt, *Princes, Prieſts and Levites, did make a ſure covenant, write and ſeale unto it.* Let us *this Day*, not onely give earneſt for the purchaſing of Truth, by the fixed purpoſes of our hearts, but even give as it were *hands and ſeales*, that we will never ſell the liberty, purity, or power, of Religion upon any termes. 1 Kings. 11 9

Will you pleaſe to theſe particulars?

First, *That you will not ſell Truth out of carnall feares*, you have a good invitation in it, Rev. 22. 7, 8. Behold, he

that is *over-comming*, not he that hath overcome, ſhall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be my ſonne, *But the fearefull and unbeleeving ſhall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone.* Read over the ſtory of *Francis Spira* with trembling, who out of ſuch *feare betrayed* the *Truth*. After he had gon to *Venice* to the Popes Legate, with whom, out of carnall feare, he complyed, craving pardon of him, and yeelding to recant that religion he had publickely profeſſed; when he *returneth to his houſe, he could not reſt an houre, no not a minute, nor feele any eaſe of his continuall anguiſh*; from that night he was much terrifyed with horror, and as he confeſſeth, *He ſaw plainely before his eyes all the torments of hell and the damned; and in his ſoule did heare the fearefull ſentence, being drawne before the Judgement ſeate of Chriſt.* Hold faſt the Truth, let faith triumph over feares. If *Peter* will deny and forſweare his
Matth. 26. 74, Maſter, at beſt he muſt returne by weeping croſſe: many are irrecoverably ſmitten with that Thunderbolt from the Lord, *Heb.* 10. 38. *If any one draw backe, my ſoule ſhall have no pleaſure in him.*

Secondly, *That you will not ſell Truth for your own private advantages.* It was a wretched carriage in
Act. 19. 24, 25. *Demetrius*, and his fraternity, who out of love to their owne gaine, did combine and conſult how they might undermine and betray the Truth. *Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth*; This made them ſo zealous for their *Diana*; and ſo fierce againſt the Goſpell; If Truth doe prevaile, *Diana* muſt downe, and then farewell their profit. Reſolve rather to reſemble *Moſes* then *Demetrius*, who, *Heb.* 11. 25. *Choſe rather*

rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, then enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon. His Faith did ſo rightly enforme his Judgement, that he counted the *Reproaches* of Chriſt, (which ſeeme the bittereſt thing in Chriſtianity) *greater riches then the treaſures in Egypt*, ver. 26. How much did he then preferre the Conſolations, which come by Religion, before all worldly excellencies? Such a ſpirit was in *Luther*, who when he was offered to be Cardinall, if he would be quiet, replyed, no, *Not if I might be Pope.* He had an holy ſcorne to be put off from his Religious deſignes, by ſuch withering petty things.

Thirdly, *Sell not Truth for politicke State ends.*

When you come to ſettle Religion doe not deale onely like politicians, but like Chriſtians. *Worldly wiſedome* in the things of God is a rule too *ſhort*, too *crooked*, too *partiall*, yea fooliſhneſſe with God. *Ieroboam* would play the politician in Religion, he ſold the true worſhip of God for his State ends, and for ever inherits this as a blot upon his name, 1 King. 15.30. *Becauſe of the ſins of Jeroboam which he ſinned, and which he made Iſrael to ſin, by his provocation wherwith he provoked the Lord God of Iſrael to anger.* Moſt renowned was the zeale of King *Edward* the ſixth for the Truth, when upon reaſons of State he was preſſed by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, to give way to the Maſſe; he refuſed it with ſo much reſolution, with ſo many teares, that they acknowledged he had more divinity in his little finger then both they. In things about *meum* & *tuum*, that concerne our owne intereſt, we may be more liberall, but in Church affaires the word of truth muſt guide us. It is not in 1 Cor. 3. 19.

Calv. Epiſt. pret. Angl. our power *quicquam hic aliis dare, aut in aliorum gratiam deflectere*, we may not therein gratify one another.

Fourthly, *Sell not Truth for pretences of Church peace.* I confeſſe the name of peace ſmels very ſweete, and now eſpecially (in the midſt of ſuch Church diſtractions and ſuch wantonneſſe of opinions) were Eph 4. 3. 13. to be purchaſed at any rate, except with the loſſe of Truth; It is a moſt lovely ſight to ſee unity of peace imbrace unity of faith, to behold the houſehold of faith, the family of love; O that we could all obſerve the preſent breaches with the ſame affections that *Auguſtine* did the differences betwixt *Hierome* and *Ruffine*. *Woe is me* that I cannot find you both together, I would fall downe at your feete, with much love and many *teares I would beſeech you for your ſelves, and for one another*, and for weake Chriſtians 2 King. 17 33. *for whom Chriſt dyed*, that you ſuffer not theſe diſſentions to ſpread, &c. But, in the meane time, we muſt not be ſuch reconcilers, as to bring in a Samaritan Religion, an Interim, an uncomfortable mixture. We muſt not receive Babyloniſh inmates into the Lords Houſe. Light and darkneſſe, Truth and error, will never long dwell quietly together.

Hei mihi, qui vos alicubi ſimul invenire non poſſum. Aug. Ep. 15.

Fifthly, *Sell not Truth for the pompe of humane Ceremonies.* Admit that *Ceremonies* were firſt let into the Church, with the faire *intention* of the guiders and leaders; and entertayned by the *credulity* of well-meaning people, before the myſtery of iniquity was much knowne; yet ſince, being ſo *ſuperſtitiouſly* abuſed by the Pope and his party, and ſo rigidly preſſed, for the upholding the pompe of Prelacy, with

with no small disadvantage to the Truth; let us part with them, rather then sell any sparke of Truth for them.

Never say they are ancient. *Jesus Christ is my antiquity*, saith *Ignatius*. We must look for antiquity of Institution not onely of Custome. Never say, they are indifferent. If indifferent onely, and not expedient, they may the better be spared. Others will say, our Doctrine takes off the Scandall of the Ceremonies. However, better have the stumbling blocke removed out of the way, then to have a monitor appointed to give you warning of it, he may fall asleepe, and then you are in danger. Many tender consciences wish the same successe about our Ceremonies, that was in King *Edward* the sixth his dayes, about the Images. Some people contending for one Image, others for another, gave occasion, that the King tooke downe all. *Who knoweth whether God hath called you to this Parliament to accomplish this amongst other services?*

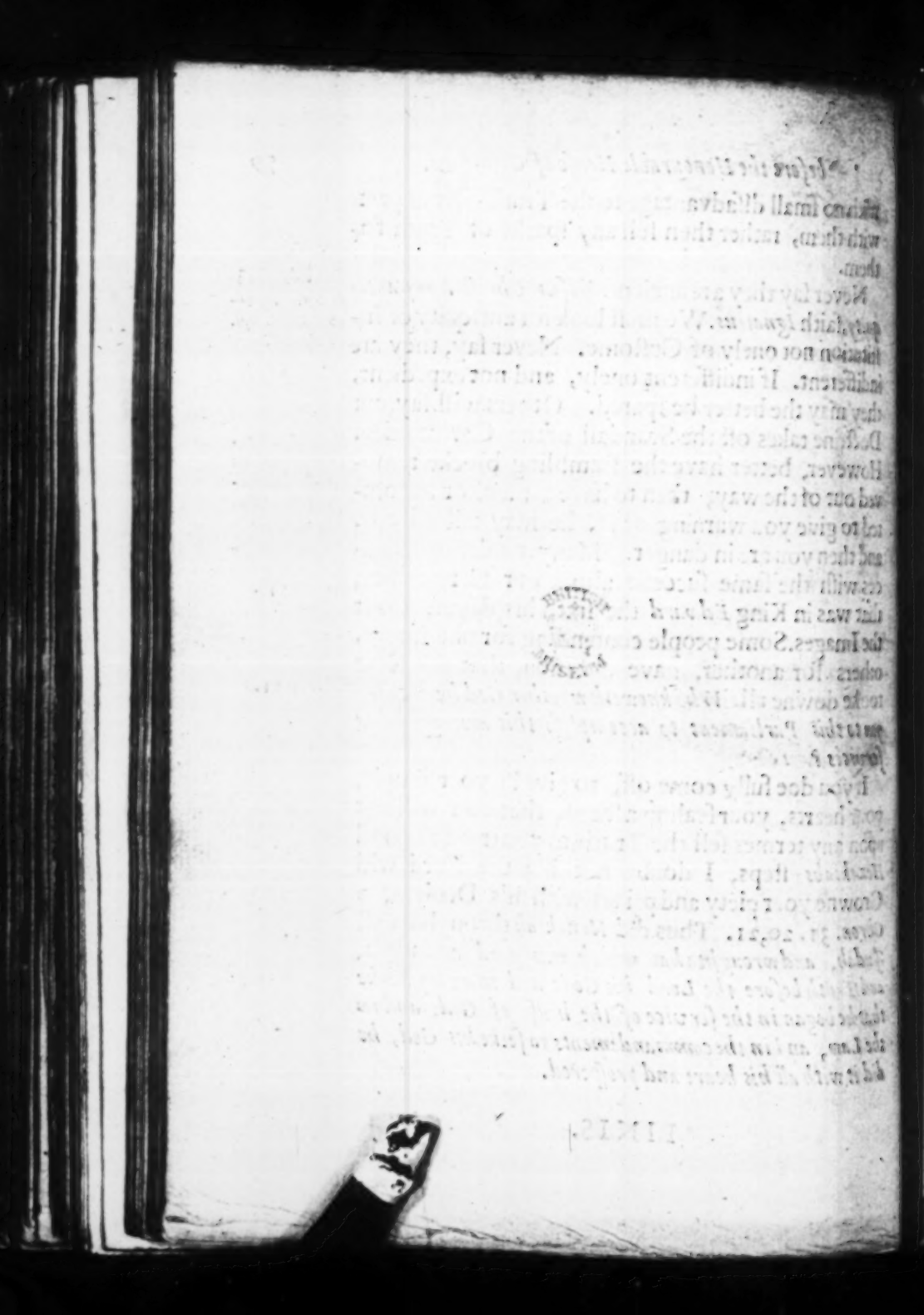
Ἐμοὶ ἀρχεῖα ἐστὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστός. *Ignat. epi. ad Philad.*

Quid si vel pigri vel non satis attenti sint monitores, vel frustra plerosque moneant? Beza, ep. 8. Grindal. Anno 1548.

Ester 4. 14.

If you doe fully come off, to give in your hands, your hearts, your sealing actions, that you will not upon any termes sell the Truth, as you tread in good *Hezekiahs* steps, I doubt not but the Lord will Crowne your piety and paines with his Diadem, 2 *Chron.* 31. 20, 21. Thus did *Hezekiah* throughout all *Judah, and wrought that which was good and right, and Truth before the Lord his God, and in every worke that he began in the service of the house of God, and in the Law, and in the commandements to seeke his God, he did it with all his heart and prospered.*

FINIS.



14.

Exceeding Joyfull Newes FROM DOVER,

Wherein is declared how a Noble man was sent from the King, to demand the Castle to be resigned to Him; But was bravely repul'st by the Governour of the said Castle.

ALSO

Horrible Newes from *Portsmouth*, declaring How Collonell *Goring* hath abused the inhabitants of the said Town that stand for the Parliament.

With certaine Observations concerning the particular actions of the said Collonell *Goring*, since the beginning of this Parliament

Whereunto is annexed the Parliaments Resolution concerning the sending of forces to *Portsmouth* and other places, which are oppressed by the Malignant party of this Kingdom.

It is Ordered that this be Printed and published.
John Brown Cler. Parl.

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ondon, Printed for *Hen. Fowler*, *August* 12. 1642.

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Exceeding Joyfull Newes from DOVER.

THe Governor of *Portsmouth* having at the beginning of this *Parliament*, discovered a Plot in this *Parliament*, concerning the design of bringing the Army up to *London*; which good service being so acceptable to the *Parliament*, he being made by the King Governor of the said Town, was likewise established and confirmed Governor of the same by the *Parliament*, since which time he hath built Stones and Fortifications, with several other works under pretence of a good service done for the King and Kingdom, and indeed it had been very highly imployed, that Town lying upon the Sea, and being one of the chief Ports of this Kingdom, that had

he having strongly fortified himself, and with all under-hand by gifting favours and large promises, won to himself a party in the Town, beside the Garison. He now tooke time to declare his treacherous intentions, and to bring that to light which he had long fostered in his bosome.

Wherefore finding that the difference between the King and *Parliament*, was almost at the height, and fearing that the malignant party would have the worst, he thought now while he had the power in his own hand, to requite the *Parliament* with treachery for their honorable gratitude.

Wherefore he resigned the said Fort to the King, to the end that it might be imployed against the King; for however their pretences of standing for the King, may appeare for the present to those that looke no further, yet let but the discerning eye of reason look forward to the end, and quickly a discovery will be made of their black and treatherous intentions.

Nevertheless, though the said Colonell Goring had resigned the Town to his Majesty, and

had a great party in the Town; Yet there were also a considerable party for the *Parliament*, which if they had been timely seconded might happily have reduced it to its first state of obedience.

Which Collonell *Goring* espying gave a strickt command through out the Town, that upon paine of imprisonment, all men that were either capable of bearing Armes themselves, or able to find men to serve for them, should meet on the Bowling Alley compleately armed, for defence of the King, *Parliament* and Kingdom.

This he did only to discover who went for the *Parliament*, knowing that they would absent themselves.

Which was according to his imagination, for almost halfe the Town & of the better sort declare too that they stood for the King and *Parliament*, but in a contrary sence to that which he intended.

Nevertheless by reason of the Garrison Soldiers, and the party which he had obtained in the Town, namely, poore mechanick persons, such whose fortunes are desperate, and divers

of the Kings ſervants. The ſaid Collonell *Goring* party was much greater than the other, by which meanes, Collonell *Goring* having given command, they were forcibly diſarmed their goods ceiſed or namely all manner of Ammunition, and many other inſufferable injuries done unto them, to the great griefe and terror of all the Inhabitanss there about, God grant that there may bee ſome ſpeedy courſe taken to ſuppreſſe the preſent, and to prevent future miſchiefes of the like nature.

For the Malignant party did not only aime at that Fort only (if report ſpeake truth) but at *Dover* alſo, for it is credibly reported that laſt week a Noble-man came to *Dover* in his Majeſties name, demanded that the Caſtle ſhould be reſigned to him, and the Governour thereof asked him if he had likewiſe authority from the *Parliament*, who anſwered him, neither cared he for their authority, withall telling him that if he did not peaceably reſigne it, ere long it ſhould be too hot for him; with many other braving words, which the Governor hearing, being incenſed, called for a guard,

telling him that he would lay him where he should be cold enough till that time came; which the valliant Lord seeing, like an unmannerly Courtier, turned taile and rid away, not so much as thanking the Governor for his kind entertainment.

God grant that all those that are intrusted by the *Parliament* in matters of such high concernment, may as truly and honorably discharge their duties.

The High Court of *Parliament* likewise will not be wanting in their care and Counsels to be assistant in so religious designe; for they declare that the war being thus begun by his Majesty, they hold themselves bound in conscience to raise forces for the preservation of the peace of the Kingdom, and protection of the subjects in their persons and estates, according to Law. In the opposing of all which, they desire the hearty concurrence of all the well disposed subjects of this Kingdom, and shall manifest by their courses and endeavours, that they are carried by no byrespects, but by the publick good, which they will alwaies preferre before their Lives and Fortunes.

So

So that it rests only that the free borne English Nation do consider whether they will adhere to the King and his *Parliament*, by which they have enjoyed all that is deare unto them (and without which they have no possibility of enjoying any thing) or to the King, seduced by wicked Counsell and Cavaliers, who have designed all to slavery and confusion; which by Gods providence and our joynt endeavour may be timely prevented.

FINIS.

ARTICLES Exhibited againſt Sir Philipp De Carteret, Governour of the Iſle of JERSY:

Or,

An humble Information of the eſtate of His Majeſties Iſle of *Ierſey*, with part of the grievances of the inhabitants, which was preſented by divers Gentlemen of that Iſle, to many Members of both the honourable Houſes in *Parliament Aſſembled.*

Aug. 12.

Printed in the yeare 1642.

ARTICLES

Exhibited against Sir

Philip Carteret Governour of the

Ile of JERSY:

&c.

An humble Information of

the state of His Majesties Ile of Jersy,

with part of the grievances of the inhabi-

tants, which was presented by divers Gentle-

men of that Ile, to many Members of both

the honorable Houses at Paris.

Printed in the year 1643.

ARTICLES

Exhibited against Sir *Philipp Carteret*, Governour of the Isle of Iersie. Or an humble petition, &c.

SHewing, That the personall residence of a Governour well qualified in a Frontier place, is most requisite for His Majesties service, and security of the Island.

That Sir *Philipp Carteret* the now Deputy of Sir *Thomas Jermyn* (a man altogether unexperienced in the *Militia* Discipline) hath lately in his absence, substituted a Nephew of his of about twenty three yeers of age, and the last summer he committed that charge to his eldest son scarce one and twenty yeares olde, such young Commanders well knowne unfit to be put in trust of a place of that importance for the *Militia* and defence of the Country.

That (as the case now stands) the dispensation of the residence of a Governour living in England doth not onely impoverish the Island for the expectation of the monies due unto him out of the Kings Revenues there, but

 besides

besides that it doth weaken that Estate that a Lieutenant Governour chosen out of the Isle, and of necessity one of the best ranke [illegible] that he oweth [illegible] and furniture of [illegible] contracted and [illegible]

That for the avoyding of sundry inconveniencies and Iealousies, it is the generall desire of the Inhabitants that the Deputy be a Native of England or *Wales*, as was ordered by *Henry* the 7. upon a surveigh of that Isle, and a man of sufficient ability to command and order within & without the Castles, and to that intent, that sufficiency is expressed in all the Patents of the Governours.

That Sir *Phillipp Carteret* the now Deputy bears offices incompatible in one person, for the indifferent administration of Iustice, to be Governour, Bayliffe, and Farmour of the King's Revenues, Escheats, forfeitures, fines [illegible] Iudge and Party.

That the said Sir *Phillip* doth intrust with all the [illegible] places and offices those of his owne name and Family, the Island consisting of 12. parishes, 7. Carterets Captaines besides two Nephews and a Brother in Law, and his own servant Porter of the great Castle of *Montorgueil*.

That he procureth the nomination and election of his owne kindred for the judicature in the Bench of Iustice by Letters and Messages when the Parishes by order of the Court are commaunded to proceed to the election of a Iurat by the Votes of the people.

That he hath opposed the free election of the absent men that were named by the votes of the Country for the bench of Iustice according to the Priviledges.

That he makes himselfe formidable by his violent carri-

age

age and publike threats in the seate of Justice against those Justices or others who cannot comply and side with his designes and with fearful [illegible] to be revenged by him & his against them in open Court.

That he hath presumed [illegible] to raise imposts and customes upheard upon the goods imported into the Isle against the liberties and Charters of the Isle.

That since he is Lieutenant Governour, he hath oppressed the people by selling at a high rate the Licences for the exportation out of England of those commodities which are granted by [illegible] and Patents, as of Wool, Leather, and Sea-cole, for the reliefe of the Subjects. Those commodities being ingrossed and vailed to an excessive price to the beggering of the Country.

That hee keepes his resident Minister for the service of God in the Castles as the practise hath been of the former Governours, and prescribed by order of the Lords, but supplyeth that now and then by destituting the Parishes of their Ministers upon the Sabboth dayes.

That without forme of Justice or Judicial hearing, hee hath commanded some Gentlemen of the best ranke in the Isle to appeare before the Lords within 40 dayes, and upon their appearance he hath never moved the Lords or any prosecution at all about the cause of their appearance.

That with an Arbitrary Power and subversion of the Lawes, hee doth release out of prison without consent or act of the Court, those that are committed by sentence and sometimes himselfe either as Governour or Bayliffe, doth commit to prison against the expresse words of the priviledges, without order of the Court.

That he hath hither to given no account in the Isle of great sums of monie received by him out of the Exchequer

Imprinted at London for George [illegible] Busey. 1642.

or the Lord Treasurer, as appeareth by a true copy extracted out of the Office, for 3160. pound sterling for 200: English Souldiers billited there, by his appoyntment, 1628. 1629. he being the Captain, some small portions he hath payed where it hath pleased him, and to get in the payment of the said monies, he took an acquaintance of the Constables to shew that he hath disbursed the same out of his owne, and hath left a bond, of that which is due in their hands, & no body durst hitherto undertake the prosecution of that businesse, or any grievances against him for feare of his powerfullnesse and revenge, with the charge to be sustained here.

That some Contracts have been made in the Castles betwixt some prisoners there and some of his, to get a pardon here for crimes of false coyning and clipping of French and Spanish coyne, and the said prisoners payed aforehand to some of his owne, great sums, & for the remainder were bound in a bond left in the hands of the Porter of the Castle.

That against the custome and with discontent of the people, he hath entertained frequently in the Castle some Gentlemen of great quality fled out of *France* prosecuted there for high Treason, and this contrary to former injunctions concerning Strangers not admissible in the Castles.

That whereas some have been lately admitted in the seate of Justice without due Election, and Votes of the Country and Jurates, and against whom there are great exceptions, that those persons ought to be removed.

That hee hath procured of his owne head from the Lords, the alteration of some of our Lawes, and customes without due consent of the states.

That hee sets an excessive price upon the Wheat Rents

due

due to His Majeſty, without the advice of the Iurates as the former courſe hath been.

That when the ſaid Sir *Phillip* was here, and had knowledge that theſe Articles were preſented to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, hee did ſubtily procure Letters to be written unto him of falſe intelligence, whereby mention was made that the ſaid Iſland ſtood then in danger of invaſion, and therefore his preſence there was much neceſſary, but this double diligence was made for feare of the touch-ſtone of the Law upon ſuch a Delinquent as hee is. And now hee is in *Ierſey*, where hee procureth Certificates on his behalfe (whereby hee pretendeth to cleare himſelfe) ſubſcribed by ſome of the Iurats being of his Kindred, and others the Inhabitants who dare not refuſe him, being abſolute in that Iſland ſo farre remote from the eyes of this eſtate.

FINIS.

Imprinted at *London* for *George Lindſey*.

due to His Majesty, without the advice of the Iurates as the former course hath been.

That when the said Sir *Philip* was here, and had knowledge that these Articles were presented to the Honourable House of Commons, hee did subtily procure Letters to be written unto him of false intelligence, whereby mention was made that the said Island stood then in danger of invasion, and therefore his presence there was much necessary, but this double diligence was made for feare of the touch-stone of the Law upon such a Delinquent as hee is. And now hee is in *Iersey*, where hee procureth Certificates on his behalfe (whereby hee pretendeth to cleare himselfe) subscribed by some of the Iurats being of his Kindred, and others the Inhabitants who dare not refuse him, being absolute in that Island so farre remote from the eyes of this estate.

FINIS.

The Troublesome

LIFE AND RAIGNE OF King Henry the Third.

Wherein five Distempers and Maladies are set forth.

Viz.

1. *By the Pope and Church-mens extortions.*
2. *By the places of best trust bestowed upon unworthy Members.*
3. *By Patents and Monopolies for private Favourites.*
4. *By needlesse expences and pawning of jewels.*
5. *By factious Lords and ambitious Peeres.*

Sutable to these unhappie times of ours; and continued with them till the King tied his Actions to the rules of his great and good Councell, and not to passionate and single advice.

Aug: 12

Imprinted at *London* for *George Lindsey*. 1642.

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Aug: 12

Imprinted at London for George Hill 1642.

A Short VIEW OF THE LIFE AND RAIGNE OF King HENRY the Third.

WEarie in the lingring calamities of civill armes, and affrighted at the sudden downfall of a licentious Soveraigne, all men stood at gaze, expecting the event of their long desires, peace; and the issue of their new hopes, benefit. For in everie shift of Princes, there are few either so meane, or modest, that pleasure not themselves with some probable object of preferment.

To satisfie all, a child ascendeth the Throne, mild and gracious, but easie of nature, whose innocencie and naturall goodnesse led him along the various dangers of his fathers raigne. Happie was hee in his uncle the Earle of Pembroke, the guide of his infancie; and no lesse for thirtie yeares, whilst *De Burgo* the last servant of his fathers against the French, both in Normandy and England, with *Bigot* Earle of Norfolk, and others of like gravitie and experience did manage the affaires. Five and no more were the distempers then in state, but such as are incident in all, the Commons greedy of libertie, as the Nobilitie of rule; and but one violent, raised by some old and constant followers of his fathers, *Fulio de Brent*, *De Fortbus*, and others, men that could only thrive by the wars, misliking those dayes of sloth (for so they termed that calme of King *Henries* reigne) and ra-

Hist. M. Paris

Ro. de Wendr.

Hist. M. Paris

ther because the justice of quietnesse urged from them to the lawfull owners, such lands and castles as the furie of war had unjustly given them: confiding in the uprightnesse of the King, that protection could not be made a wrong doer, they fell out into the rebellion which ended their lives and competitions, professing their swords that had set the Crowne upon the Soveraigne, should now secure those small pittances, when Majestie and law could not.

S. Saxon. Thuan.

Dangerous are too great benefits to Subjects of their Princes, when it maketh the mind capable only of merit nothing of dutie.

No other disquiet did the State after this feele, but such as are incident to all: Malice to authoritie, goodnesse and greatnesse may secure themselves from guilt, but not from envie: for highest in trust in publike affaires are still shot at by the aspiring of those that see themselves lesse in employment than they deeme in merit. Those vapours did ever and easily vanish, so long as the helme was guided by wise and temperate spirits, and the King tyed his actions to the rules of good counsell, and not to young, passionate, and single advice.

Thirtie yeares now passed, and all the old guides of his youth dead, but *De Burgo*, a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting, but moderation, whose length of dayes giving him the advantage of sole power, his owne ambition and age gave him desire and art to keep out others. This bred to him the fatal envie of most, which the proud title of Earle, and offices then bestowed on him much encreased. Sin by this had wrought, as in it selfe, so in the affection of the people, a revolution; the affection of their fathers forgotten, and the surfet of long peace having led them perchance into some abuses. From thence the Commons (to whom everie dayes presence seeme worst) commend the foregone ages they never remembred, and condemne the present, though they knew neither the disease thereof, nor the remedie. In this idle and unlaid humour falls in some noble spirits, warme and overweening, who being as truly ignorant as the rest, first, by culling the wisdome of the present and greatest Rulers, making each casuall hap their errour, seeme to decypher everie blemish in government, and then by holding certaine imaginarie and fantasticall formes of Common-weale flatter their own beleefe and abilities, that they could mould any state to those generall rules, which in particular applications will prove them grosse and idle absurdities, confirmed in their owne worths by *Sommery* and *Spencer*, they take it a fit time to work themselves into action and authoritie, now a thing they long desired and thought unwilling to seeme to sue for.

ist. de ust:

ist: Lib. 2.

d: Co. 2.

Doubtlesse the surest of their aimes was yet to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had been held worthy; but the King, taught by the new Earle, *Consilia senum hastas juvenum esse*; and that such wits, for so they would be stiled, *Novandis quam gerendis aptiores*, fitter in being fierie to disorder,

disorder, than to settle affaires, either delayed or denyed their desires. For wise Princes will ever chuse their Instruments, *negotiis & non supra*, creatures out of free election, that are only otherwise without freenesse or power.

Among this unequall medley there were of Nobilitie, *Pembroke*, *Glocester*, *Hartfield*, Darlings of the multitude, some for the merits of their fathers, whose memories they held sacred, as pillars of publike libertie, and oppressours of encroaching Monarchie. Others of the Gentrie, *Fitz-Geffery*, *Bardolfe*, *Grisby*, *Mansell*, and *Fitz-Iohn*, spirits of as much acrimony, and arrogant spleene, as the places from whence they were elected, Camp, Court, or Countrey could afford any. These by force would effect what by cunning the others did affect, but all impatient to see their ends thus frustrate, and that so long as the King followed the directions of the Earle of Kent, they had small hopes of their desires, they made often meetings, and as one saith of them, *Clam noctuynis colloquiis, aut flexa in vesperum diem*. At last, *Sommery* and *Spencer*, two that were far in opinion with the rest, Gentlemen that by forraine education and employment, were better qualified than usually men of those times, and that set upon their owne deserts, the best places when the streame should turne, which some of them did unworthily obtaine (for he died in actuall rebellion *Iusticiarius Angliæ* against his Majestie) advised that the surest means to remove that great and good obstacle, the Earle of Kent out of the way of their advancement, was by sifting into his actions, and siding with his enemie, *Peter* Bishop of Winchester, an evill man, but gracious with the King, aiming that the worthiest driven out by the worst, they should ever be able to match him with his owne vices, which will be more visible, as he is more potent, and so remove him at pleasure, or else give over the King to such ministers, as losing him the hearts of the people, might smooth him a way to their bad desires: *Honores quos quieta rep. desperant perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.*

Hist. [illegible] M. Par.

Hist. mi[illegible] M: Par.

This counsell, heard and approved, and put in execution, the corrupt and ambitious Bishop is easily ensnared to their part, by money and opinion of greater power. Articles are in all hast forged and urged against the Earle, as sale of the Crowne lands, waste of the Kings treasure; and lastly, that which those doubtfull times held capitall, giving allowance to any thing, that might breed a rupture between the Subjects and the Soveraigne, as hee had done in making way with the King to annihilate patents granted in his nonage, and enforced his Subjects to pay, as the Record saith, *Non juxta singulorum facultatem sed quicquid justiciarius estimabat*; Well he cleared himselfe of all but the last, and did worthily perish by it: For acts that fill Princes coffers, are commonly the ruine of first Inventors, bad times corrupt good counsels, and make the ministers yeeld to the lust of Princes; but this King cannot therefore passe blamelesse, that would so easily banish all former merits of so good a servant, for that himselfe was therein chiefe in fault; but Princes natures

 are

are more voluable, and more sooner cloyed than others, more transitorie their favours, and as their minds are large, so they easily overlook their first elections, having no further necessitie in the fastnesse of their affections, than their owne satisfaction.

...o. de ...ith. The Bishop now alone manageth the State, chuseth his chiefe instrument, *Peter de Rivallis*, a man like himselfe, displaceth the Natives, and draweth Poytovins and Britons into offices of best trust and benefit, and the King into evill opinion of his people: for nothing is more against the nature of the English, than to have strangers rule over them. Of this mans time, *Wendover* an Author then living saith, *Iudicia committuntur injustis leges ex legibus, pax discordantibus justitia injuriosis.* Thus the plot of the tumultuous Barons went cleere, and had not the discreet Bishop calmed all with dutifull perswasions, and enforming the King, the support of this bold mans power (whose carriage before lost his father Normandy, his treasure, and the love of his people, and in that the Crowne) would as by his teaching the son, to reject in passion the just petition of his loyall Subjects, as of late the Earle Marshall the due of his office, draw all the State into discontent, by his bad office and corrupt manners; and doubtlesse, the rebellious Lords had ended this distemper (as their designes) in a civill war.

Denials from Princes must be supplyed with gracious usage, that though they cure not the sore, yet they may abate the sence of it: best it is that all favours come directly from themselves, denials and things of bitternesse from their ministers.

...laus an. ...7. H. 3. ...26. Thus are the strangers all displaced and banished, *Rivallis* extortions ransackt by many strick Commissions, and the Bishop himselfe sent disgraced to his See, finds now, *nullam quæsitam scelere potentiam diuturnam*, and that in Princes favours there is no distance betweene mediocritie and precipitation; so dangerous are the wayes of Majestie, and men still foolish to strive to run. The Faction still frustrate of their malitious ends, begin to sow upon their late grounds of the peoples discontent, *quærelas & ambiguos de principe sermones turbulentia vulgi*: and took it up a fashion, to endeare and glorifie themselves with the senslesse multitude, by depraving the Kings discretion and government, whose nature too gentle for such insolent spirits, was forced (as *Trivet* sayes) to seek as hee presently did, advice and love among strangers, seeing no desert could purchase it at home, all bore themselves like Tutours and Controllers, few like Subjects and Counsellours.

... Taylor ...on. de ...rry. God we see holdeth the hearts of Princes, and sends them such Counsellours as the qualitie of the subjects meriteth; for *Mounford* a French-man became the next object of the Kings delight, a Gentleman of choyse bloud, education, and feature. On this mans content the heady affection of the Soveraigne did so much dote, that at his first entrie of grace, in envie of the Nobilitie, he made him Earle of Leicester; and in no lesse offence of the Clergie,

ge, by ſo lating their rights of holy Church, gave him his vowed vaile, ſure a to vaile, not to raiſe than vaile full: ſome have deemed this act of the Kings making the eyes of his dependancie the ſtrength of his aſſurance, to both at his will.

Mannyford made wanton with the dalliance of Majeſtie, forgetteth moderation; for ſeldome moderation in youth attendeth great and ſudden fortunes: he draweth all affaires publike into his hands, all favours muſt paſſe from him, preferments by him, all ſuits addreſſed to him, the King but as a Cipher ſet to add to his figure the more of number. *Anon. Fo le Vulgrave.*

Great was the Soveraignes errour, when the hope of ſervants muſt recognize it ſelfe to the ſervant, which ought immediately to come from the goodneſſe and good election of himſelfe, though Princes may take above others ſome repoſefull friend with whom they may participate their neereſt paſſions; yet ought they ſo to temper the affaires of his favour, that they corrupt not the affaires of their Principalitie.

The great and graveſt men began to grieve, when the unworthy, without honour or merit, dealt thus alone in that which ſhould paſſe their hands, and to over leap their yeares, to the greateſt honours and offices; and therefore ran along with the riſing grace of the Kings halfe brethren (though ſtrangers) hoping to divide ſo the poſſeſſion of grace, which they ſaw impoſſible to breake.

Leiceſter confident of his Majeſties love, and impatient either to beare *Cro. de Read.* in favour, or partner in rule, oppoſeth them all, but findeth in his ebb *Reading.* of favour, the fortunes of others, for this King could as eaſily transfer over his love, as ſettle his affection: great wee ſee muſt be the art and cunning of that man, that keeps him afloat the ſtreame of Soveraigne favour, ſithence the change of Princes wils (which for the moſt part are full of fancies, and ſo unfixed) are hardly arreſted: who ſo would this, muſt only attend the honour and fatetie of his Maſter, and diſpoyled of all other reſpects, transforme himſelfe to his inward inclination, work neceſſitie of employment, by undergoing the offices of moſt ſecrecie, either of publike ſervice, or Princes pleaſures; beat downe he muſt Competitors of worthy the hand of others, conceale his owne greatneſſe in publike, with a fained humilitie, and what impotencie or government he affecteth, to let rather ſeeme the work of others, than any appetite of his owne.

Now were the raines of rule fully taken by this advantage, put alone into *H. Knyght Mon. Leſt* the hands of the Kings halfe brethren, *Adam, Guido, Godfrey,* and *William*; himſelfe, as before, *ex magna fortuna tantam licentiam uſurpans*; for to act his owne part hee was ever ready drawen, when hee had ſuch worthy ſervants, as would often for his honour urge it.

These Miniſters (as *Walſingford* termes them) *tanta elati jactantia, quod nec ſuperiorem ſibi intelligunt, nec parem metuit, & molliis adulationibus animum Regis* *de rebus Anglicis Walſingford.*

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These Ministers (as *Walsingford* termes them) *tanta elati jactantia, quasi nec Deum superiorem sibi intelligunt, nec parem metuit, & molitis adulationibus animum illaqueant Regis*

regis pro libito voluntatis orationis tramite deliniantes, floe alone their list; they fill up the places of justice and trust with their Countrey-men, put out the English, exact of whom and who they please, wast the treasure and Crown-lands on themselves and followers, set prices on all offices, and raise the Law within the rule of their owne brests; the usuall reply of their ser-servants to the plaints of the Kings Subjects being: *Quis tibi rectum fecit quod Dominus meus vult, Dominus Rex vult.* These strangers seemed in their lawlesse carriage not to have beene omitted, but to have entred the Land by Conquest: the great they enforced, not to obey, but serve; and the meane to live so, so as they might justly say, They had nothing, yet lest the King should heare the grones of his people, and greedinesse of his Ministers, which good and able men would tell him, they bar all aves, suspicion being the best preserver of their owne defects, aimeth at those who have more of vertue than themselves, as fearing them most.

Guil. de Bishan.

Ri. Monast. de Ramsey.

Thus is the capacitie of government in a King, when it falleth to be a prey to such lawlesse Minions, the ground of infinite corruption in all the members of the State: all take warrant generally from Princes weaknesse of licentious libertie, and greatnesse makes profit particularly by it; and therefore gives way to encrease ill, to encrease their gaines.

A famine accompanyeth these corruptions, and that so violent, as the King is enforced to direct writs to all Shires, *Ad pauperes mortuos sepeliendos fontes inedia dificientes:* Famine proceedeth, *& secutus est gladius tam terribilis, ut nemo inermis securè possit per provincias per vagari.* For all the villages of the Kingdome were left a prey to a lawlesse multitude, who, *per divisas partes tenerantes velut per consensum abiorum*, as the Record said, did imply that the factious Lords suspected that the King had given some heart to this commotion. Ambitious Peeres bring ever fuell to popular fires, nor was the Church without a busie part in this tragick work; for *Walter* Bishop of Winchester, and *Robert* of Lincolne, to *Mountford* and his faction, *praecordialiter adhaerebant*, and were far engaged; in such designes Church-men are never wanting, and the distasse of present government, as well in Church as in Common-weale, will ever be a knot of strength for such unquiet spirits, who alwayes frame to themselves some other forme than the present, as well in Religion as in temporall estates, being that which with the giddy multitude winneth the best opinion, and did at this time fitly suit the peoples humours, so much distasting the new Courts of the Clergie, their pomp, their greedinesse, and the Popes extortions.

Guil. de Bishanger.

A faire pretext it was to the factious Bishops, to use their bitter pens and speeches so far against some religious Orders, ceremonies, and state of the Church, that one of them incurred the sentence of excommunication at Rome, and treason at home; for he enjoyned the Earle of Leicester, *in remissione peccatorum, ut ransam illam* (meaning the rebellion) *usque ad mentem assumeret*

Paris.

merat asserens pacem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sine gladio materiali nunquam firmare posse: it was not the best doctrine this man could plant by liberty and war, when the first Church rose by patience and prayer: true piety bindeth a subiect to desire a good Soveraigne with a bended knee, rather in time to desire abatement than to resist Authority: Churchmen therefore ought not alwayes to lead us in the rules of loyalty, but knowledge of our own duty in difficult points of Religion, where an humble ignorance is a secure knowledge we may relie on them. To suppresse these troubles, and supply the Kings necessities, a Parliament was called, much to the liking of these Lords, who as little meant to supply the King as he did desire to acquit the State, their ends at this time being onely to open at home the poverty of their Master, to lessen his reputation abroad, and to brave out their own passions freely, which these times of liberty permits, here they began to tell him, he had wronged the Publique in taking to his private election the Justice Chancellour and Treasurer, it should be onely by the common counsell of the Realme, commending the Bishop of Chichester for denying the delivery of the great Seal, but in Parliament, where he received it.

They blame him there to have bestowed the best Places of trust and benefit on Strangers, and to leave the English unrewarded to have undone the trade of merchandise by bringing in mults and heavie customes, and to hurt the common liberty by *non obstantes* in his Patents to make good monopolies for private favourites that he had taken from his subjects, *Qui quid habuerunt in osculentis & poculentis rusticorum enim bigas equos vivo, victualia ad libitum cæpit*, that is, Judges were sent in Circuit under the pretext of Justice to fleece the People, *Causis fictis quæcunque poterant deripuerunt*. And that Sir *Robert de Purslan* had wrong from the borderers of his Forests, under pretence of incroachment or Assarts great summes of money, and therefore they wonder he should demand relief from his so pilled and poled Commons that by these former extremities, *Et per auxilia prius data ita depauperentur ut parum aut nihil habeant in bonis*: advising him withall, that since his needlesse expences *postquam rex regni cæpit esse*, were summed up to be by them above 800000. l. it were fitting to pull from his favourites, who had gleaned the treasure of the Kingdom and shared the old Lands of the Crown, some one of whom the Lords described, to be *Miles literatus*, or *Clericus militaris*, that had in short space from the inheritance of avarice grown to the possession of an Earldom; and *Mansel* another inferiour Clerke, that rose to dispend in annuall revenues 4000. m. whereas more moderate fees would have become a penman no better qualified than with the ordinary fruits of a writing-school, yet told if a moderate supply would suit with his occasions, they were content to performe so far relief in obedience as the desert of his carriage should merit towards them: and so as the Record saith, *Dies data fuit in tres septimanas, ut interius rex excelsus*

Io. de Wallinge.

Cro. Ist. Albani.

Gual. de Coventry.

Reg. Ross.

suos

suos corrigeret, & magnates ejus obtemperarent voluntati at which day upon new grant of the great Charter admittance to his Counſell (ſome perſons elected by the Commons) and promiſe to relie upon the Natives, and not on ſtrangers, for advice hereafter they ſpare him ſuch a pittance, as muſt force him again to their devotion for a new ſupply.

Thus the Parliaments that were ever before a medicine to heal up any rupture in the Princes fortunes are now grown worſe than the maladie, ſince malignant humours began to rule more than well compoſed temper. The King by this experience of the intents of his rebellious ſubjects, finding the want of treaſure was the way whereby they enthralled his Majeſty, begins to play the good husband, cloſeth his hand of waſte, and reſolved himſelfe (too late) to ſtand alone.

Experience is pernicious to the private, and dangerous to the good of State when it never learnes to do but with undoing, and never ſeeth order but when diſorder ſhewes it; yet ſtill alas, ſuch was his flexibility, when he came to be preſſed by his French minions, that he could not hold his hands any longer from their vaſt deſires and endleſſe waſtes, ſo that an Author then living ſaith it became a by-word, Our inheritance is converted to ſtrangers and our houſes to aliens. Followers to a King exceſſive in gifts, are exceſſive in demands, and cut them not out by reaſon but by examples, favours paſt are not accounted, we love no bounty but what is meer future, the more that a Prince weakeneth himſelfe in giving, the poorer he is in friends, for ſuch prodigality in the Soveraigne ever ends in the ſpoil and rapine of the Subject. Yet before the King could again ſubmit himſelfe as he had the laſt Parliament to ſo many brave and ſtrict inquirers of his diſloyall ſubjects, he meaneth to paſſe thorow all the ſhifts that extremity of need which greatneſſe could lay before him.

val. de ſhang.

He beginneth firſt with the ſale of Lands, and then of Jewels, pawneth Glaſcony, and after his Imperiall Crown, and when he had neither credit to borrow (having ſo often failed the truſt he had made) nor morgage of his own, he then layeth to pawn the Jewels of Saint *Edwards* ſhrine, and in the end not having meanes to defray the debts of Court, was inforced to break up houſe, and as *Paris* ſayeth, with his Queen and Children, *cum abatibus & prioribus humilia ſatis hoſpitia quærunt & prandia.*

il. de ſhang.

This low ebbe that again the Kings improvidence had brought him into gave great aſſurance to the rebellious Lords that they ſhould now at laſt have the Soveraigne Power left a prey to their ambitious deſignes; and to bring it faſter on, they deſire nothing more than to ſee the Kings extremity conſtrain a Parliament, for at ſuch times Princes are ever leſſe than they ſhould, Subjects more.

To haſten on the time, and apt the meanes, there are ſome certain ſeditious humours that the Kings neceſſity muſt repair it ſelfe upon the fortune, and

liberty

liberty of the People, that having nothing of his own, he might and meant to take of others, for Kings may not want as long as Subjects have meanes to supply.

This took effect just to their mindes, and wrought a little moving in the State, which doublesse had flamed higher if the King had not assuaged it by Proclamation wherein he declared, *Quod quidem malevoli sinistra praedicantes illi falso suggesserunt illum vel eos indebite gravari, ac jura & libertates regni subvertere, ut per suggestiones dolosas & omnino falsas eorum corda à sua dilectione & fidelitate averterent.* But desireth then, that *Hujusmodi animorum suorum purturbatoribus ne fidem adhiberent.* For that he was ever ready to defend them from the oppressions of the great Lords, *Et omnia jura & consuetudines eorum debitas bonas & consuetas in omnibus & per omnia plenius observare*: and that they may rest off, that *Securè de voluntate libera literas suas fecit patentes.*

But seeing still that Majesty and Right subsist not without meanes and power, and him selfe had of neither so much as would stop the present breach in his own wants or his Subjects loyalties he flieth to the bosome of his People for relief and counsell at Oxford they met in Parliament, where his necessities met with so many undutifull demands, that he was forced to render up unto rebellious wils, his regall power; here the Commons knowing that *cum eligere inciperent*, they were *loco libertatis*, stood with the King to have the managing of the State, put to the care of 24. whereof 11. by their election, whereto they look strictly, the other by him, who in all things else was left a cypher, and in this, either by fear or advice filled up his number with *Mountford*, *Gloster*, and *Spencer*, which beside the weakning of his own part, won to these his late opposites and opinion of great interest, they had got into his favour. He hath now neither left him election of publike Officer nor private attendance, his halfe brethren and their followers he must despoil of all fortunes and exile by proscription under his own hand, commanding the processe *Pro transfectatione fratrum suorum*, to be directed to the Earle of Hartford and Surrey, and not to passe either money, armes, or ornaments *Nisi informa quam dicti comites inquirerent*, and after departure injoyned the men of Bristow that they should not permit any stranger *Sive propinquos regis applicare in portu*, but so to behave themselves therein that as well the King *quam magnates sui eos merito commendare debeant.*

Thus we see how easily mens estates do change in a moment, and how hard it is to make good use of things ill gotten; and thus changing solid power into the rules of power, and these by popular elections, made the State beleeve that by this forme of limited policy they had utterly suppressed the minde of mankinde, for ever dreaming upon the imaginary humours of licentious soveraignty.

But it fell out nothing so, for now every man began to estimate his own

 worth,

worth, and to hammer his head upon all designes, that might enlarge his power and command, then began the great men to pull from the body of the countrey and regall soveraignty, such royall suitors as neighboured any of their own seats, whereunto they inforced the service, and as the Record saith, *Ad sectas indebitas & servitutes intolerabiles subditos regis compulerunt*. Thus raising indeed Mannours to become great Honours, and rending asunder the Regall Justice made themselves of so many subjects while they lived in duty, *totidem tyrannos*, as the book of Saint *Albans* saith, when they had left their loyalty *Magnas duxerunt magnates regni super subditos regis servitutes & oppressiones*, which they bore patiently, for excesse of misery having no ease but custome, made men willing to lay the foundation of servitude by the length of sufferance, which found no other ease nor end untill the quiet of this Kings Raigne.

Mountford, *Gloster*, and *Spencer*, the heads of this rebellious plot, having by the late provision drawn to the hands of their 24. Tribunes of the People, the entire mannaging of the State, and finding this power too much dispersed, to worke the end of their desires forced again the King at London to call a Parliament, where they delivered over the Authority of the 24. unto themselves, and created a Triumvirat, *Non constituendo reip. causa*: (as they first pretended for their own ends) but to make a speedier way to one of them as it fatally did to become *dictator perpetuus*.

Ambition is never so high but she thinkes still to mount, that station that lately seemed the top is but a step to her now, and what before was great in desiring seemes little now in power.

These three elect new Counsellors, and appoint *quod tres ad minus alternatim semper in curia sint*, to dispose of the custody of Castles, *& de aliis omnibus regni negotiis*. The chief Justice Chancellor and Treasurer with all Officers, *maiores & minores*, they reserve themselves the choyce, and binde the King to this hard bargain, upon such strange security, that he is contented under the great Seal, and Oath, to loosen to them the knot of legall duty, whensoever he assumed to himselfe his regall Dignity. *Liceat omnibus de regno nostro contra nos insurgere & ad gravamen nostrum opem & operam dare ac si nobis in nulla tenerentur.*

This progedy of fortune in whom she had set a pitifull example of her inconstancy, finding no part of his Soveraignty left, but the bare title, and that at their leaves beggeth succour of *Urban* the fourth against his disloyall Subjects: the Pope by Bull cancelleth his Oath and Contract, and armeth him with Excommunications against all those that turne not with speed to their due and old obedience; sithence, promises made by men that cannot say they are at liberty are light, and force hath no power to make just interest. These Lords on the other side that had imped their wings with the Eagles feathers, and like no gain, but what was raised out of the ashes of

Monarchy

Monarchy made head againſt their Soveraigne, and to mate him the better called in ſome French forces.

Thus the Commonwealth turned again her ſword into her own bowels, and invited her ancient enemies to the funerall of her liberty, ſo that it was not a wonder ſhe did not at this time paſſe under a foraigne ſervitude. and though thoſe men were more ſenſible of their diſgrace, than others miſeries, yet found they no better pretext for private intereſt than that of the publike, and therefore at the entry into this war, they cried liberty, although when they came nere to an end, they never ſpake once of it. At Lewis the Armies met where the King endeavoured a reconciliation, but in vain, for perſwaſions are ever unprofitable, when Juſtice is inferiour to force, the ſword decided the difference, and gave the two Kings and their eldeſt ſonnes priſoners.

The perſon aſwell as the regall power being thus in the hands of *Mountford*, and *Gloſter*, found neither bond of ſecurity, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatneſſe, which now began to break out betwixt theſe mighty Rivals gave hope of, for *Leiſter* meaning (by incroaching by his partner to himſelfe, the perſon of the King and his followers the beſt portion of the Spoil, and to draw more fruit from this advantage, than it ſhould in fellowſhip yield, diſſolved the knot of their amity.

Equall Authority with the ſame power is overfatall we ſee to great actions, for to fit mindes to ſo equall a temper, that they ſhould not have ſome motions of diſſenting is impoſſible.

Mountford having thus broke all faith with his confederate, and duty to his Soveraigne, leaves the path of moderation and wiſdom to come to the King by that of pride and diſtruſt.

To him he telleth that his aymes and ends had no other object ever, but order of the State and eaſe of the People, that he did not in this carry affection againſt duty, but well knew how to rein his deſires to his juſt power, and ſo no leſſe to his Majeſties content if he would be ruled, which was to command the Caſtles and Forts of his now oppoſites *Gloſter* and the reſt into his hands, it was hard to this King thus to take a Law from his inferior. But neceſſity in ſoveraigne affairs doth often force away affirmability, and therefore thoſe poor Princes who now at the victors diſcretion ſeemed to have been onely raiſed to ſhew the inconſtancy of fortune and vanity of man, ſuted himſelfe with incomparable wiſdom to the neceſſity of the time: neither did humility now wrong Majeſty, when there was no other meanes to contain ſpirits ſo inſolent, but diſſembling.

He therefore ſummoneth in his own perſon the Forts of his faſteſt friends to yield to his greateſt enemies,

Theſe he intreateth in ſhew to his lodging, but in effect his priſon, and ſaw

 himſelfe

himſelfe forced to arme againſt his friends, and to receive new Law from him to whom he lately thought to give it. Thus *Leiſter* is become the darling of the common rout, who eaſily change to every new maſter, but the better durſt not ſail along his fortune, by the light of his glory. Chryſtall that fairly gliſtereth doth eaſily break, and as the aſſent of uſurped Royalty is ſlippery, ſo the top is ſhaking, and the fall fearfull; to hold this man then happy, at the entry of his falſe felicitie, was but to give the name of the image to the metall that was not yet moulten. For by this the impriſoned Prince was eſcaped, and faſt aſſured of *Gloſter*, by the knot of his great minde and diſcontent, and both with the borne remainder of the royall Army, united, and by ſpeedy march arrived (unlookt for) nere Eversham, to the armed troopes of the ſecure Rebels, whom they inſtantly aſſail, for it was no fit ſeaſon to give time, when no time did aſſure ſo much as experience did promiſe.

Spencer and other Lords of the faction made towards the Prince with the beſt ſpeed of march, but could not break out, being hurried along the ſtorme of the giddy multitude. Publike affection depends on the conduct of fortune, private on our carriage, we muſt beware therefore of running down ſteep hils with weighty bodies: they once in motion, *ſubſequuntur pondere*, ſteps are then voluntary. *Leiſter* at that inſtant with the King, and out of the tempeſt might have eſcaped if his carriage and hope had not made him more reſolute by miſfortune, ſo that he could neither forſake his followers nor his ambition. Thus making adverſity the exerciſe of his vertue, ran and fell. Private cogitations make more or leſſe of fortune, but thoughts we ſee once raiſed to the height of rule, are no more in our own power, having no mean to ſtep upon between the higheſt of all and precipitation.

The King by this happy accident freed and obeyed, began to fear all the ground of his former miſeries, and why that vertue and fortune that had ſettled and maintained ſo long under his anceſtors, the glory of his Empire had caſt him in his time off, and conſpired with her enemies to her almoſt ruine, as if the genius of the State had quite forſaken her.

Here he findes his waſtfull hands had been too quicke both over the perſons and eſtates of his People, the griping avarice of his civill Magiſtrates, and lawleſſe liberty of his martiall followers, the neglect of grace, and breach of his word, to have left the Nobility at home and neceſſity, his reputation abroad, making merchandiſe of peace and war as his laſt refuge; ſo leaving his old allies became enforced to betake himſelfe to perſons doubtfull, or injured, and that by giving over himſelfe to a ſenſuall ſecurity, and referring all to baſe, greedy, and unworthy miniſters, whoſe counſell was ever more ſubtill than ſubſtantiall: he had thrown down thoſe pillars of ſoveraignty and ſafety, reputation abroad, and reverence at home.

R. Pat. 53. H. 3.

Croſſi. Albani

Io. de Yax: eter.

He therefore now maketh ſweetneſſe and clemency the entrance of regained

gained rule, for the faults of moſt of the Rebels he forgot A gracious kinde of pardoning, not to take knowledge of offences, others he forgave that they might but live to the glory of his goodneſſe, for the fewer killed the more remain to adorne his trophe. Tyrants ſhed bloud for pleaſure, Kings for neceſſity; yet leaſt his juſtice and power might ſo much ſuffer in his grace and mercy. Some few he puniſhed by ſmall fines, ſome by baniſhment as the guiltleſſe, yet unpittied ſonnes of the arch-traitor. Treaſon ſo hatefull is to the head, that it draweth (we ſee) the carriage of the innocent children into a laſting ſuſpect, and what is ſuſpition in others is guilt in them.

Upon the conſtant followers of his broken fortunes he giveth, but with more wary hand than before the forfeitures of his enemies. Immoderate liberality he had found but a weak meanes to win love, for it left more in the gathering than it gained in the getting, and his bounty beſtowed without reſpect was taken without grace, diſcredited the receiver, detracted from the judgement of himſelfe, blunted the appetites of ſuch as carried their hopes out of vertue and ſervice. *Claus. 21 H. 3. m. 19.*

Thus at laſt he learned that reward and reprehenſion juſtly laid do ballance government, and that it much importeth a Prince if the hand be equall that holdeth the ſcale. In himſelfe he reformed the naturall errours of his youth for Princes manners, though a mute Law have more of life and vigor than thoſe of letters, and though he did ſometimes touch upon the verge of vice he forbore to enter the circle. The Courts wherein at this time the faults of good men did not onely by approbation but imitation receive true comfort and authority, for their crimes were now become examples and cuſtomes he purged ſeverely, ſince from thence proceeds the regular or irregular conditions of the common ſtate. Expence of houſe ſervice he meaſured by the juſt rule of his proper revenues, and was heard often to ſay that his errors of waſt had been the iſſue of the Subjects blood. The inſolency of his Souldiers made lawleſſe by the late libertie of civill armes he ſpendeth in forraigne expeditions, having ſeen that the quiet ſpirits underwent all the former calamities, and the others were never ſatiſfied but in the miſeries of innocents, and would if they had no other enemy abroad ſeek out one at home, as they had done before. *Cro. de Dung.*

The rigor and corruption of theſe judiciall Officers, he examineth and redreſſeth by ſtrict commiſſion for the ſeem of their ſecurity became a murmur of his own cruelty.

The ſeates of judgement and councell he filleth up with men nobly borne, for ſuch attract with leaſt offence the generous ſpirits to reſpect and reverence, the inabilities he meaſureth not by the favour of private information as before but generall, for every man may in particular deceive and be deceived, but no one can all, nor all one. And to diſcover his own capacity

now

now and shew what part he meaneth to leave hereafter in all deliberate expeditions, he sitteth himselfe in councell dayly, and disposeth the affaires of most weight in his own person.

Councellors be they never so wise or worthy, are but as accessaries, no principall in sustentation of the State, their Office must be subjection no fellowship in consultation of moment, ability to advise, not authority to resolve: for as to live the Prince must have a particular soul, so to rule his proper and interne Councell, without the one he cannot demurre truly, without the other he can never securely be a Prince; for it offendeth as well the minister of merit as the people, to force obedience to one uncapable of his own greatnesse and unworthy of his fortune.

This wonderous change to the generall State so helpelesse lately to recover their former liberty that they sought now for nothing, but the mildest servitude brought them home again to his devotion and their duty.

He that will lay (we see) the foundation of greatnesse upon popular love must give them ease and justice, for they measure the bond of their true obedience by the good alwayes received.

This peace ever after attended his age and house, and he happily lived to fashion his successour, and to make him partner of his experience and authority, whose down hard education trained him from that intemperance which makes man inferiour to beasts, and framed him to affect glory and vertue which made him superiour to men. So that all the actions of his future Raigne were exact grounds of discipline and policy, who as he was the first of his name since the Conquest, so was he the first that setled Lawes and State, deserving to wear the stile of Englands *Iustin*, and the proud title to have freed the Crown from the subjection and wardship of his Peers, shewing himselfe in all his actions ever after capable to command, not the Realme onely, but the whole world. Thus do the wrong of our enemies more than our own distractions, make us sometimes both wise and fortunate.

FINIS.

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PETITION

From the Iſland of

SILLEY,

Scilly K

Being in the VVeſt part of

ENGLAND.

VVherein ſome of their grievances and oppreſsions are laid open and manifeſted, together with their ſincere affection to the proſperity and good of the Kingdome of *England.*

Sent by the laſt Poſt from the aforeſaid Iſland of *Silley*, in a Letter to ſome of their Country men in *London*, deſiring to have it publiſhed with a generall conſent of the Iſland of *Silley.*

Wherein is expreſt the ſtate of the tyme, and the Diurnall occurrences of this preſent age.

London, printed for *Thomas Bankes. Auguſt.* 12. 1642.

PETITION

of SILLY,

Being in the Wild part of

BYGLAND.

Wherein some of their Pra-

vances and oppressions are laid open

and humbled, together with their Inno-

cency & the prudent and good of

the Kingdome of England.

Sent by the last Post from the afore-

said Island of Silly, in a Letter to some of their

Countrymen in London, desiring to have it pub-

lished with a general consent of the

Island of Silly.

Wherein is expressed the Hard of the times, and the

Diurnall occurrences of the present Age.

A Petition from the Iſland of Silley, being in the Weſt part of *England*.

THat whereas we the Inhabitants of *Silley* being neither wiſe mens eldeſt ſonnes, nor poſſeſſed of any great meanes whereby our witts and good-willes ſhould be held in contempt, have not hitherto dared for feare of deriſion to ſend forth handfulls of our affections in blacke and white, or to make our tedious proteſtations and Petitions as the Leatherbreeches in the ſeverall Counties of *England* have done, though our intentions towards the King and Parliament are as cleare as claſſe, and more tranſparent than the obſcure malignity of thoſe Countrey Animalls and quarrelling Caveleires, men of great ſtomacks, better feeders than fighters: We therefore knowing that fooliſh modeſty can never make us thrive in worldly favour, have ſoyned all the ſtrength of our wits together, and little enough to draw forth and deſcribe the face and picture of our ſorrowes and grievances, and alſo in ample manner lay

lowne the ſubſtance of our deſires, Shewing firſt that we being poore innocent creatures of the Iſland of *Silly*, that have no golden fleeces on our backes, whereby to tempt any iniuries, nor have any Lawyers amongſt us to pole our eſtates, nor any ſwaggering friends and acquaintance that will bee ready to borrow money of us and never pay us againe, nor any detractors or backbiters to blaſt our reputation are like a people therefore much troubled in minde that wee ſhould live unworthy of wrongs and iniuries, whichare ſo common and frequent in *England*, that neither the King nor ſubiects can eſcape the ſting of malicious tongues, whereas wee ſurfet with content, never fearing any thing, no not ſo much as a Sergeant as many Gentlemen doe in *England*. And now of late having underſtood by fiſherboate that came from *England* of certaine diſcords ariſing betweene the King and Parliament, upon what ground and ſmall reaſons wee cannot apprehend, ſo that the whole land is like to be divided into fractions for picking quarrells in the Church-windowes, we ſmelling our danger a farre off, and out of a deare affection to our ſelves, eſteeming our lives to bee preſious in our eſtimation, doe therefore earneſtly and hartily deſire that we may diſſemble our ſelves together in a poſture of warre, and that we may have Bills, Bowes, Arrowes and Speares, and all kind of murdering engines ſent unto us, whereby wee may according to our neceſſity arme our corporall bodyes, and if our enemies ſhould appeare in field, (which we hartily with they may never doe) we may kill them ſeven miles before they come neere us, and moreover we deſire that wee may have ſome redd terrible ill looking Uiſard ſent to us, together with a ſhip

full

full of the ſtrongeſt Garlike: ſo that having put on thoſe fearefull Vizards we may affright our enemies with our very lookes, and blow them away, with our ſtrong ſented ſtinking breaths.

As for Biſhops we care not greatly whether there be any in *England* or no, for our conſtitution is not ſo hot that we can endure none, nor our affections ſo could, that we cannot permitt any, onely we humbly deſire that all our Biſhops may be ſpirituall Bakers, that they may make their bread of doctrine as gentle as Ginger Bread, ſo that old women may mumble it up as in old time they did their *Pater Noſters*, and we beſeech theſe Ghoſtly Fathers that they would bee ſure to fleece their Dioceſſes, and to put in ſome poore Scholler of *Silley* or ſome Silly Scholler to be their Curate in ſome Country village, and moreover that they would never ſtraine their voyces to preach too much, and that never doing any good while they live, they may after their deceaſe build a Colledge in one of the two Univerſities.

And moreover it is our humble deſire that wee may be better acquainted with the new ſects of Roundheads being ſo like to us the inhabitants of *Silley*, for all their doctrines, opinions and tenets which they maintaine doe all ſmell ſtrong of the Iſle of *Silley*, ſo that as the Papiſts doe ſetch the derivation of their Church from Rome, ſurely the Browniſt and theſe Roundheads had their originall from one that was borne in *Silley*, for is not their madde kinde of Preaching in Tubbs a ſilly Faction, are not their teaching againſt the backe of a haire and ignorant inſtructing at a Tables end all ſilley inventions, beſides their ſhort circumciſed hayres makes them all looke like *Silleys*, it is our humble petition therefore

fore that they may all domineere in the city, and pull downe Miniſters out of the Pulpit and never troubled by the King or Parliament, becauſe it doth appeare by their mad actions, factions, and diſturbances of the Common-wealth that they are a kin to the brethren to the brethren of *Silley* as well as of *Scotland*, and if they ſhould lacke meanes, which I hope they will ſcorne to doe, the Silley Roundheads being willing to helpeone another, I would have ſuch as be afflicted there to remove themſelves, & not to fly over into new *England*, but unto the Iſle of Silley, and I thinke it were a great happineſſe to the Kingdome if all the Rounheads would leave *England*, and with one generall conſent goe to inhabit in the Iſle of *Silley*, that there they might exerciſe their ſilly Religious feates free from the cenſure of the world, and the trouble of the Common-wealth, who doth wiſh them all hang'd on ſigne poſts, we deſire them therefore in this our Petition to pack up their tooles being tradeſmen, and take with them their wives and children, and a Bible or two, and ſo the conduct of their revealing Spirit, paſſe over to inhabit in the Iſland of *Silley*.

Humbly likewiſe beſeeching that the King and Parliament would not be dogged one towards another, but concurre in affection and abominable love one to another, for diſcord doth bring forth nothing but murdering and Killing in kindneſſe, and if our skinne be ſlaſht and cut, who can mend it, or who can borrow another of his neighbour? beſides who would deſire to have his eyes puſhed out of his head with a muſket bullet, or a peece of his skull ſeated off with a Cannon bullet: therefore we deſire waking, dreaming, & thinking that there

may

may be ſtore of Peaſe as there hath beene alwaies in the Markets, and that wee may live in ſoft eaſe, and content without and trouble, but not a word of fighting, for we the Inhabitants of *Silley* are men of weake ſtomackes that doe hate Gunnes and Gunpowder, and therefore we are willing to bee undone upon any condition rather than to have our dearely beloved bodies ſuffer the hardneſſe of the warres; And therefore wee humbly beſeech that howſoever diſcontents may ariſe, and ſome body may be offended, we name no body, yet in a holy and wholſome pitties of our bodies, we deſire that the noyſe of warres may be ſilenced, and peace generally throughout the land imbraced, and no noyſe heard in our *Ieruſalem*, but kitching Drums, that is chopping of pothearbs on ſunday mornings, that ſo we may not be put into ſuch feares & terrors to the ſpoyling of the wits of the Inhabitants of *Silly*, eſpecially women of *Silly* or ſilly women, who neere uſe to pray or bleſſe themſelves, but at the ſudden report of warres.

As for *Militia*, tis a word we undeſtand not, unleſſe it be diſplayed in the proper colours of diſpleaſing and offending in contending about this word, fye upon ſuch words, *Militia* according to the interpretation and deſire of the Iſlanders of *Silley* is to ſet our ſelves in a poſture of eating like Hungarians, drinking Flemmings, and talking of *Hull*, Sir *John Hotham*, *Yorke*, and the Prentices Reſolution, which wee commend highly, and doe thinke that there are ſome of the Iſland of *Silley* that have as inviſible ſtomackes, whoſe knives nor

ſwords

swords would not be put up at the affront of a Barley pudding, nay it is kowne that wee men of *Silly* for want of knives have drawne our swords to open Oysters, what dare we doe then to make honour waite vpon us? as she hath done some tymes upon the men of *Silley* or silly men, but in these times though we desire some what, we desire no honour we love our heads better then to have them fall off, for too much ripenesse of witt and dignity, and therefore we humbly desire that our Petition may be accounted as it is the unreasonable, and unreasonable requests of the subiects of *Silly*. Now that you may never know the conclusion of what wee would obtaine, we will commit the rest to the close custody of silence, and not write any thing more for feare it will be too much laught at, but tis no matter, tis usuall in these times for ignorance to deride wisedome, Coblers and Brownists to jeare Doctors, Rounheads to be wiser than square Caps, and conceited women to be Preachers, and fooles to bee farmers sonnes in despight of Aldermens heyres. We therefore the Inhabitants of *Silly* last of all desire, that none presume to reade this Petition unlesse hee beleeve that the Islanders of *Silly* will stand stiffe to all Declarations, Protestations, and Reformations as any of the Rounheads or Caveleires who are a thought wiser than we the Inhabitants of *Silley*.

FINIS.

THE CHVRCHES TROVBLES AND DELIVERANCE,

OR,

Certaine Sermons tending to ſhew the Reaſons why the Lord doth ſometimes bring his People into extremities, with the bleſſed iſſue and fruits thereof, on *Gen.* 22. 14.

Alſo divers Arguments giving good hope that yet God *will be gracious to* ENGLAND, *and not deliver us into* our enemies hands.

Alſo ſome things briefly on REV. 11. 7. to 14.

By THO. MOCKET, Mr. of Arts, and Preacher of Gods Word at *Holt* in *Denbigh-ſhire*.

Prov. 22. 3. *A prudent man foreſeeth the evill, and hideth himſelfe; but the ſimple paſſe on and are puniſhed.*

Pſal 37. v. 12 *The wicked plotteth againſt the juſt, and gnaſheth againſt him with his teeth*

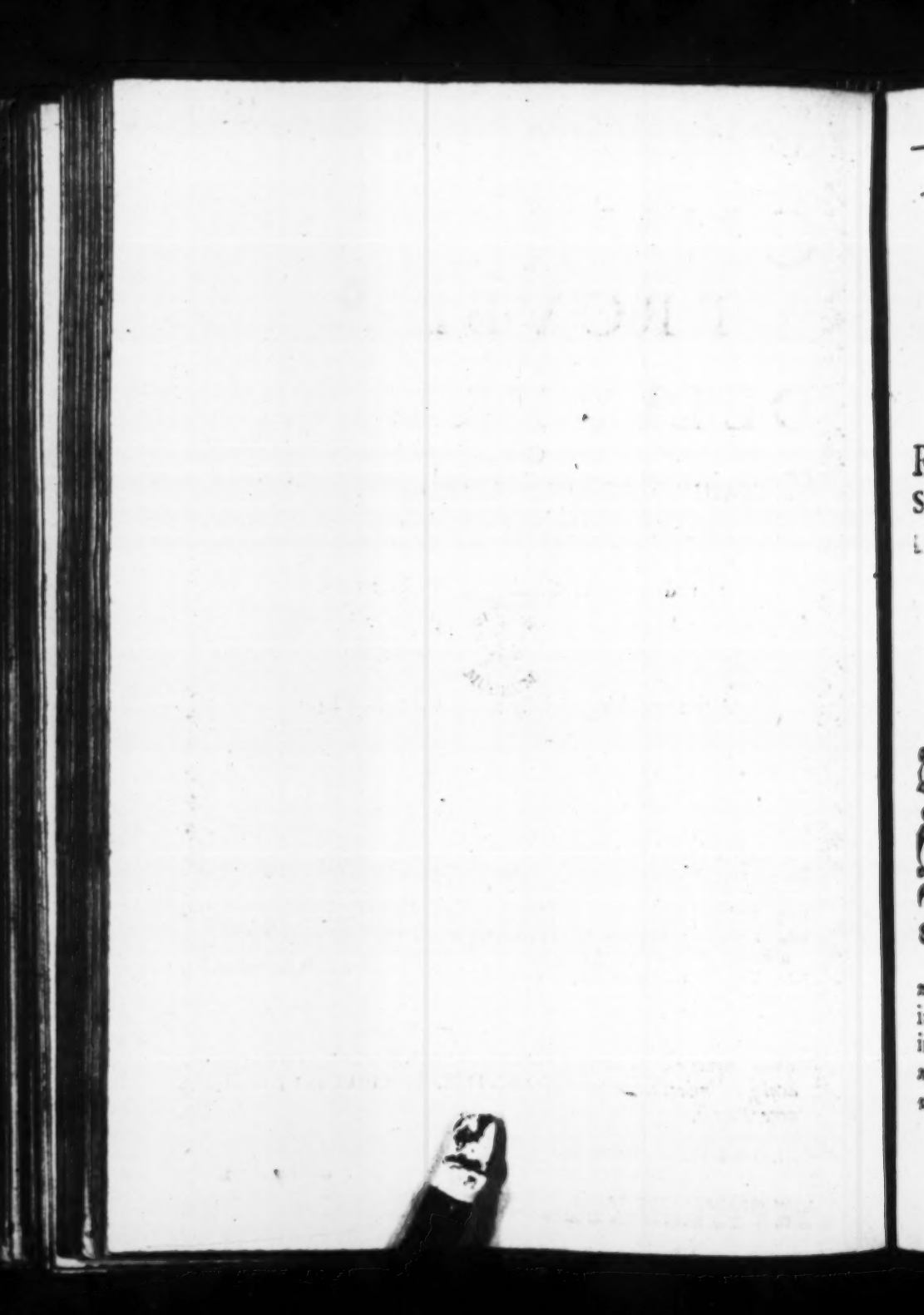
v. 13. *The Lord ſhall laugh at him; for he ſeeth that his day is comming.*

v 24 *Though the righteous fall, he ſhall not be utterly caſt down; for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand*

v. 39. *The ſalvation of the righteous is of the* LORD; *he is their ſtrength in time of trouble.*

Quid mirandum ſi Sancti quoq́, viri malis premantur? ſive ad limi quantumvis exigui purgationem, ſive ad virtutis explorationem, ſive denić, ad imbecillorum eruditionem. D. Nazianz. in Orat. 19. *in funere Patris.*

LONDON. Printed for *Chriſtopher Meredith*, at the Signe of the Crane in St. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1642. *Aug.* 12



TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFVLL,

Sir *Richard Newport*, KNIGHT, the LADY *Margaret Bromly* Relict to the Honourable Iudge Baron *Bromley*, Sir *Ed Broughton* Knight, and the Worſhipfull Mr *Rowl Barker* of HAYMAN, Mr. *Fra. Charleton*, Juſtices of the Peace, Mr *Will. Stevinton*, and Mr *Ric. Davis*, Eſquires,

Grace, Mercy and Peace be multiplyed.

Sirs,

YOu may wonder that ſuch an obſcure perſon as I am, and living in ſo remote a corner of the Kingdome, ſhould (in this learned age, wherein ſo many elaborate Peeces of ſpeciall worth have bin printed) publiſh any thing: Yet knowing the ſubject to be very ſutable to the times (and you know what the Wiſe man ſaith of a word ſpoken in it's ſeaſon) A word ſpoken in due ſeaſon, how good is it? it is like Apples of gold in Pictures of ſilver, *pleaſing and profitable, and finding the matter handled in it comfortable and profitable to my ſelfe, and well reliſhed and deſired by ſome others, being heartily deſirous*

to further the publicke good, and profit others, I have ventured to preſent it to the publicke view and uſe. And be it ſo, that this ſlender Treatiſe (at firſt intended only for a Country Auditory) be indeed but as the Goats haire among the fine twined linnen, ſilke, purple, ſilver, gold and precious ſtones, that was offered towards the building of the Tabernacle; yet there is uſe of that alſo. Be pleaſed therefore to accept of it, which I aſſure you is as rich in affection as the moſt choiſe peeces are in worth; which I doe humbly preſent (as to the World in generall ſo) in particular to you (My much honoured and worthy friends) for your particular favour and expreſſions towards me and mine. If you or any others ſhall reape any good by it (which is my hearty deſire) let God have all the praiſe, and me your prayers.

And doe you (I beſeech you) labour more and more to lay out your ſelves every way to the utmoſt, for the publick good, and againſt the publicke enemies of the King and Parliament; eſpecially in your moſt hearty affections, and fervent, frequent prayers for the peace and proſperity of our Ieruſalem, *and to returne praiſes ſome wayes anſwerable for mercies received. Thankfulneſſe for benefits received is an holy kind of begging, and a preparative to more and greater mercies and deliverances, which only he can give (and therfore will be ſought of us for them) whoſe Throne of grace we have ſtill more cauſe and encouragement to frequent. The fire of civill diſſention is broken out here at home, beſide the great and lamentable ruines it hath made abroad in* Ireland *and* Germany. *Obtcaſt on a few teares to help quench it, and you ſhall ſo much the more engage him unto you, who will remaine,*

Ezek. 36 37.

The hearty deſirer of the publicke,
and your particular truеſt good,

TH. MOCKET.

IT is this day ordered by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament concerning printing, this one and twentieth day of *July*, 1642. that this booke intituled the *Churches trouble and deliverance* be printed. *John White.*

THE CHVRCHES TROVBLES and Deliverance.

GEN. 22.14.

And Abraham *called the name of the place* Iehovah Iireh, *as it is ſaid unto this day, In the Mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeene.*

WE have here an argument of praiſe for a great deliverance out of great extremity, as we may ſee by the former verſes. God having given *Abraham* a ſonne in his old age, and promiſed that in him all the Nations of the Earth ſhould be bleſſed, doth in this Chapter command him to offer him up for a burnt offering unto God, *Abraham* obeyeth, goeth to the place that God had appointed, built there an Altar, laid on the wood, bound his ſon *Iſack*, laid him upon the Altar and ſtretched forth his hand to ſlay his ſon, then God called unto him and bid him ſtay his hand, and ſpare the child, and in his ſtead to offer up a Ramme there ready for him in a buſh, hereupon *Abraham* (as is related in this verſe) ſets up

a monument of this great providence of God in ſparing his ſon, *And* Abraham *called the name of the place* Jehovah-jireh. That ſo eminent a mercy and deliverance ſhould not paſſe away with the time, but be for ever remembred; therefore the Lord alſo delivered it in a Proverbe, *As it is ſaid unto this day, in the Mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen.*

The words are a divine Record or Monument erected to perpetuate the memory of this great deliverance out of a great extremity, into which *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (in whoſe houſe the Church of God then was) were brought, wherein wee have,

1. The place where.
2. The reaſon why, And
3. The manner or meanes by which the remembrance of this ſo great a mercy is perpetuated.

1. The place where it was. *In the Mount*, viz. *Mount Moriah*, ver. 1.

Heb.11.19. 2. Why he there erected this Monument, *viz. becauſe God ſees and doth provide an offering* and deliver his ſon *Iſaac*, *Abraham received him as from the dead*, an extraordinary favour, and therefore *Abraham* was much affected with it, and reaſon he had to be ſo, affection in him towards his ſon, naturall as *his ſon*, ſpirituall as the *Son of the promiſe*.

1. *Naturall*, he had a naturall affection to him, 1. as his ſon, 2. as the ſon of his old-age, 3. his only ſon, 4. beloved ſon, and 5. the laſt that he was ever likely to have. *Old Jacob* would goe mourning to the grave, becauſe *Joſeph* was not, though he had many other ſons and a *Beniamin*, a beloved ſon alſo. *This affection* ſo farre prevailed with *David*, that he for *Abſolom* broke
2 Sam.18.33. out into a bitter and patheticall expreſſion, *O* Abſoloin, *my ſon, my ſon, would God I had died for thee.* How much more cauſe had *Abraham* to have mourned for *Iſaac*, had he been ſacrificed, eſpecially by him his Father. What would all the world ſay? What is *Abraham*, the onely preciſe fellow in the world, become 1. a murtherer, and that 2. of an innocent child, 3. of his owne child, 4. the child of his old-age, 5. his only, 6. beloved child? now fie upon ſuch a fellow, he is not worthy to live, theſe be your Profeſſours, theſe be the people of God, ſee what a Religion

ligion they have? and therefore he had great cause to rejoyce greatly at the preservation and deliverance of *Isaac* from so neare and imminent a death. But

2. *Much more cause had he* to rejoyce, if we consider *the spirituall* ground of his affection, as 'tis likely he did, *That he was the child of promise*, the seed of the Church, in whom God had promised that all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed, and so his deliverance was a publike deliverance and mercy to all the Church of God, *Isaac* the seed of the faithfull, and of whom the *Messiah* should come, is now delivered, and that after a wonderfull manner, in the very nick of time, when there was least hope of so great a deliverance and mercy. Here is the ground of his affection and occasion of erecting this Monument in token of thankfulnesse for so great a mercy. Gen. 12. 3.

3. *How and by what meanes*, the remembrance of this great mercy and deliverance is perpetuated, and that is two waies.

1. In the name of the place, Abraham *called the name of the place* Jehovah-jireh.

2. In a Proverbe, which is a short and pithy saying, which therefore doth make more impression in the mind then other sentences usually doe, and therefore is the better and more easily remembred, *As it is said to this day, In the Mount of the* * *LORD it shall be seene.* * Jehovah.

The scope of this place is to helpe the people of God against discouragement when they see it goe hard with the Church, that they are brought into great straits and exigents, that there is no helpe for them in the world, yet they must not distrust or be discouraged, flag and hang the wing as men out of hope, for *In the Mount of* Jehovah *it shall be seene* (i. e.) in great straits or extremities the Lord will shew himselfe to be *Jehovah*, the God that giveth being to his promises for his peoples comfort, that will helpe them in the fittest time. Whence observe 3. main points in order thus,

1. *That God sometimes brings his people into the Mount, into some great strait, into some great extremity or other.*

2. *That God will be seen in the Mount, he will helpe and deliver his people in their extremities.*

3. *That such mercies and deliverances should be specially noted, and*

the remembrance of them perpetuated. Of theſe God willing ſeverally and in order, and firſt of the firſt.

Teſt. 1. *That God doth ſomtimes bring his People into the Mount* (i.e.) *into ſome great ſtrait or other, that they know not what to do, nor which way to turne themſelves.*

Examples there are very many, both in the ſacred Scriptures and in eccleſiaſticall Stories, of which take a few, which I will but mention (and not largely relate) unto you.

Abraham here was come into the very top of the Mount, to the greateſt extremity, to the higheſt point before God called unto him and gave him a diſpenſation, the Altar was made, the wood laid on, *Iſaac* bound and laid on the wood, and *Abraham* was putting forth his hand to ſlay his Son, there wanted but a moment of time to doe that which all the world could not undoe, *Iſaac* had been ſlaine and offered for a burnt offering unto God.

Exo. 1 & c. 5. 7. 8. 9. & 10. So *Iſrael* was in *Ægypt* a land of affliction (not in *Canaan* a land of promiſe) that was ſomewhat to humble them; the King was againſt them and oppreſſed them, that was more, he ſlew their male-children and afterward drowned others, this was more grievous, this riſeth high, after that their task was doubled, which ſtill added to their miſery. Then againe at the Red Sea, the enemies were armed behind them, the rocky mountaines on each ſide, and the Sea before them, nothing probable but death in their eyes. *In the Wilderneſſe* the fiery Serpents, ſo great wants of water, bread and fleſh, that *Moſes* himſelfe did doubt whether it were poſſible that ſo great a multitude could there be
1 Sam. 13. 22. provided for, unleſſe all the flocks and heards be ſlaine. *All Iſrael in Sauls* time was brought to that extremity, that their mighty enemies the *Philiſtines* came againſt them, they had neither Sword nor Speare, ſave onely *Saul* and *Jonathan*.

2 Chr. 13, 14, 15. So the *Church of God*, all *Iudah* in *Abijahs* time, were encompaſſed round about with their enemies, a great army. *So againe in Aſaes* reigne, when *Zerah* the *Æthiopian* came againſt *Iudah*
2 Chr. 14. 9. and *Ieruſalem* with an hoſt of a thouſand thouſand and three hundred Chariots. In *Iehoſhaphats* days by the children of *Ammon, Moab* and mount *Seir*, againſt whom *Iudah* had no might nor knew
2 Chr. 20. 3, 10, 21, 22. not

not what to doe, their enemies were ſo exceeding many and mighty. *Under Hezekiah*, when *Senacherib* and railing *Rabſhakeh* came againſt him and his people. 2 Chr. 32.

Againe, *In the Babylonian Captivity*, they were all as dead bones, under a moſt potent enemy, and that neare 70. yeares, when they might have thought God had quite forgotten them. So in *Heſters* dayes, the Decree was ſealed to kill and deſtroy all the *Iewes* in all the Provinces under *Ahaſhuerus*. Ezek 37.3,4, 11. Heſt 3.7,12,13 14,15.

Inſtances in particular perſons, we have many, as in [a] *David* in the wildernesſe of *Maon* and ſundry other times, as at [b] *Ziglag*, in [c] *Ionas*, [d] *Mordecai*, [e] *Daniel*, the three *children*, [f] *Paul* often, [g] *Peter and many others*.

[a] 1 Sam 23 25.
[b] 1 Sam. 30.6.
[c] Ion c.2.& 3.6
[d] Heſt c 3.& 6.
[e] Dan c.3. & 6. 16.
[f] 2 Cor. 11.23, 24,25.
[g] Act. 12.

So if need were we might out of the Hiſtories of the Church bring many inſtances to this purpoſe from the Primitive times hitherto, even a large Volume of them, but what needs more inſtances to proove ſo evident a truth which none denyeth? Now

The *Reaſons* why the Lord will ſometimes bring his people into great ſtraits, may be taken from the ends of the Lords providence in afflicting his people and bringing them into great extremities, which are theſe, *Reaſons*

1. *To humble his people the more*, and ſo make them more fit for mercy; every godly man is not fit for every mercy, fit for deliverance, much leſſe others that are not ſuch, they would be proud, unthankfull, abuſe mercies. *An humble man* is the onely fit man for mercy, as an empty veſſell is only fit to receive, not the full veſſell; all precious liquour is ſpilt that is powred on it, and the ſeed loſt that is caſt on unplowed ground; as the hony combe to a full ſtomack, ſo are mercies and deliverances to an unhumble people; *therefore*, it is ſaid. *God reſiſteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble and meeke*, as the Baker doth not ſet his bread into the Oven (though it be handled and ready) till the Oven be through hot, ſo neither doth God beſtow (eſpecially great) mercies upon a perſon or people till they be humbled, heated with deſire after and prepared for it: as a Husband-man doth not caſt his ſeed into the ground, till the time and ſeaſon of the yeare and the ground be plowed and fitted for it: ſo here. And this is the firſt reaſon God doth ſometimes bring his people 1 Pet. 5.5.

into extremities to humble them and make them fit for mercy: So now to make them fit for the mercies preparing: I doe not ſay that all the people in the Land muſt be prepared, that will never be, but a conſiderable number is needfull, and all ſhould labour to be ſuch.

2. *The Lord doth it to prove both the affection and obedience of his people.*

1. *Their Affection*, their faith, patience and love to him, to ſee how they will truſt in him, and cleave to Him in evill times, and how they will beare evils, whether they will love their eaſe, liberty, profit, or any other thing, or himſelf moſt, *v.* 1. it is ſaid, God did proove *Abraham*, and therefore ſaid unto him, *Take now thine onely Sonne Iſaac Whom thou loveſt and offer him up for a burnt Offering*, &c. Now Gods intent being to prove *Abrahams* faith and love to him, to ſee whether he would cleave unto him, and did love his God or his ſon moſt, therefore hee lets him goe on to the very point, he might have given him a diſpenſation before he came out of his doores, when he ſaw him preparing, or in the way, but he did not till it came to the uttermoſt, that he might fully try him, and then God ſayes, *Lay not thine hand upon the child, for now I know that thou feareſt me, ſeeing thou haſt not with-held thy ſon, thine onely ſonne from me.* As among men many friends promiſe faire, but when it comes to the very point, then it appeares what they are indeed: So here, ſuch as profeſſe friendſhip unto God are knowne when they are tryed at a pinch or ſtrait.

Gen. 22. 1.

Vers. 11, 12.

2, So likewiſe, *to prove their Obedience*, the *Lord* doth ſometimes put them on it to the uttermoſt, ſometimes hee gives them ſuch commands, that they are put into many ſtraits, as here *Abraham*, if he ſhould kill his ſon all the *Heathen* would cry out upon him for it, if he ſhould tell them that God commanded him ſo to doe, what would they thinke of the true God? How blaſphemouſly would they thinke and ſpeake of him and of the true Religion? If neither of theſe, yet he ſhould looſe his child, his onely ſonne whom he loved deerly, and the child of promiſe. If hee doe it not, then he incurres Gods diſpleaſure. Thus the Lord puts

So it was with the Iſraelites, & ſo with Daniel, Dan. c. 3. & 6

puts his children upon it to ſee if they will obey him, when it comes to matter of great loſſe or ſuffering.

3. *God doth it to manifeſt to the whole World and to themſelves the truth and ſtrength of that grace he hath given them, and ſo Will glorifie himſelfe in the Worke of his owne grace wrought in his people*, v.1. it is ſaid, *After theſe things God tempted Abraham*: So Chriſt after he was baptized, and had received extraordinary evidences of Gods favour from Heaven, *He Was led into the Wilderneſſe to be tempted of the Divell*, and ſo tryed; And *Paul had a Meſſenger of Satan, a thorne in the fleſh to buffet him long, though he prayed earneſtly to have it removed*, this to manifeſt the truth and ſtrength of grace he had given them, whereby hee brings much glory to himſelfe; their chearefull going on through great ſtreights, doth argue ſtrength of grace, and Gods great power in them. Mat.4.1. 2 Cor. 12.7,8,9.

All the while the godly are in proſperity, wicked men are apt, and oft doe charge them with hypocriſie and call them hypocrites; but afflictions doe diſcover the truth of their graces. All the while *Iob* was in proſperity, his ſincerity was not knowne to his enemies, therefore Satan challenged *Iob* to God for an hypocrite, but his great affliction did manifeſt him to be no hypocrite, but a ſincere, upright hearted man truly fearing God, *Virtus magis conſpicitur in adverſis*, Virtue is moſt conſpicuous in adverſe times, as a Candle ſhines cleareſt and gives the beſt light in the night, and ſo the ſtarres which are not ſeene in the day ſhine brighteſt in the darkeſt and coldeſt winter nights: So grace will then moſt ſhew it ſelfe, when a man is brought to the greateſt exigent under heavieſt affliction. *Pauls* excellent graces, patience, wiſdome, faith, courage, &c. had never beene ſo conſpicuous, had it not been for his great afflictions and troubles, nor *Abrahams* faith, nor *Iobs* patience, nor *Moſes* meekeneſſe. If there were none or no difficult diſeaſes, there could be no tryall of the Phyſitions skill; the houſe builded on the ſand, ſeemed to have as faire and good a foundation, as that on the rocke, till a great ſtorme came and the windes blew: Proſperity is as the grave that buries many excellent graces of Gods children, but affliction like Chriſts reſurrection (as Iob 1.

it

it were) opens the graves and manifeſts them to the world, and ſo Gods g[illegible]neſſe and power in them.

As to others ſo to themſelves the truth and ſtrength of their graces are apparent, often times hereby they come to ſee that grace and ſtrength (not of, but) in themſelves which they ſaw not before, hereby it appeares they are ſonnes and not baſtards, ſeeing their heavenly Father ſo tendering their ſoules welfare that he will rather puniſh them, and that ſharply, afflict them and that ſore ſometimes, then let them goe on in ſinne to their hurt and deſtruction. See full to this purpoſe, *Hebr.* 12.6, 7, 8.

4. The Lord often brings his people into great ſtraits, *to quicken them to duties*, meditation, ſearching of the Promiſes and paſſages of Gods providence to his people formerly, eſpecially to faſting and prayer. *Thoſe* that at other times are negligent and ſuperficiall in duties, yea wholly neglect them; prophane perſons will in their ſtraits ſeeke unto God, and others will be more frequent and fervent in duties, *I will goe and returne unto my place* (ſaith God) *In their affliction they will ſeeke me early. Lord* (ſaith the Prophet) *in trouble they have viſited thee, they powred out a prayer when thy chaſtening was upon them.* All the while the Sea was calme the Souldiers and Marriners were merry and thought not on God, but when in great danger then every man is buſie to call upon his God, *Ionas* was rouſed up with deteſtation of his ſluggiſhneſſe at ſuch a time, *Awake What meaneſt thou ô ſleeper, ariſe, call upon thy God.* When *David* was in the mire, in the deepe waters, in great danger and trouble; *Jonas* in the Whales belly, when the Ship was in danger; and when *Peter* was ready to ſinke, then they cry, *Lord ſave us we periſh*; So *Iacob* when wrathfull *Eſau* came againſt him, he wreſtled all night with God, If God had delivered him at the firſt, hee would not have wreſtled with God as he did, and ſo have miſſed the bleſſing alſo, which he received with the name of *Iſrael*, ſo *Iehoſhaphat*, *Abijah* and *Iſrael*, and *Iudah* often. As it is ſaid of our bleſſed Saviour, that being in an agony, he prayed more earneſtly, ſo it is true in all his members, though they pray at other times conſtantly, yet in their great

Hoſ 5.15.
Iſa.26.16.
Ion.1.4,5,6.
Luk.22.44.

great ſtraits and extremities, they pray oftner and after another manner then at other times, more feelingly and fervently, even the worſt of men will in their extremities ſeeke unto God, *In their affliction they will ſeeke me early*, becauſe then, when other meanes faile, there is none elſe to helpe, and therefore they muſt goe unto God, and ſeeke helpe from him or periſh. And ſo it puts them upon other religious duties, which at other times, it may be, are wholy or much neglected.

5. *The Lord doth it to exerciſe, and ſo brighten the graces of his Spirit in his people, which otherwiſe will decline.* The beſt pearles and adamants will waxe dusky with long lying in a cloſe Cabinet, grow dull and looſe their colour, though they retaine their ſubſtance and vertue, but dyamonds the more they are worne, the brighter they looke and are more reſplendent; yron with long reſt will gather ruſt, but the more it is uſed the brighter it is; hence ſo many ruſty Swords in this Kingdome, till theſe troubles give occaſion to brighten them: So all the graces of Gods ſanctifying Spirit, though they will not decay in reſpect of their ſubſtance and habits, yet they will (as it were) grow dusky, but the more they are exerciſed, the brighter they are. *Afflictions* are Gods file to burniſh our ſpirituall armour, make it more bright and ſerviceable.

6. *By exerciſing the graces of Gods Spirit in times of tryall,* (ſome of which have little or no uſe in times of proſperity as patience and ſome other) *they are alſo much increaſed, and the Saints made more fruitfull,* and therefore God brings them into troubles and extremities many times. *Afflictions* are therefore compared to waters, to raine; as the raine falling on the Earth makes it fruitfull, the ſeed to grow, the graſſe to ſpring, ſo afflictions ſanctified will make barren hearts and lives fruitfull in grace and all good workes. We are like rough, hard, cloddy ground that is not fit to be manured till ſoftned and broken, and it is not every little ſhowre that will doe it, it muſt be a ground-ſhowre that ſoakes through: ſo afflictions ſeeme but as the raine to faſten us and make us more plyable to his bleſſed will and more fruitfull, which are ſometimes in ſuch a temper, that it is not every ſmall affliction that will doe it. Mat. 7. 17.

Jam.1,2,3,4. Therefore it is that *James* ſaith, *My Brethren count it all joy when yee fall into divers temptations, knowing this, that the tryall of your faith,* (*viz.* by afflictions) *worketh patience* (one grace begetteth another) *and let patience have it's perfect worke, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing.* If a man pull off a plaiſter too ſoon, it will not worke a perfect cure: ſo here, let patience (to wit, in bearing afflictions) have it's perfect worke, that, &c. Implying, that if patience have it's perfect worke, it will make a Chriſtian perfect and entire, wanting nothing.

Heb.12.10. *They* (ſaith the Apoſtle (namely) earthly fathers) *chaſtened us after their pleaſure, but he* (i.e. God) *for our profit, that we might*

2 Cor.4.16. *be partakers of his holineſſe. Paul* ſaith, ſpeaking of afflictions, *That as our outward man decayeth, our inward man is renued daily.* As the waters that lifted up the Arke, the higher the waters were the nearer the Arke was to Heaven: ſo afflictions, though they ſeeme to caſt men low in the eye of the world, and their owne eyes alſo, yet they mount a man higher towards God and make him after a ſort a compleat Chriſtian, that you may be perfect, ſaith the Apoſtle, and entire. There are 2. parts of a Chriſtians obedience, active and paſſive, doing and ſuffering and both theſe together make a man a compleat Chriſtian, for parts, though not for degrees of obedience.

Afflictiones fortè reddunt fortiorem Chriſt. Hom.2. ad Theſ. 2. That which the Poet ſaid of vertue, *vireſcit vulnere virtus*, vertue gets ſtrength by wounds, ſo grace by afflictions, and as in brave generous ſpirits, difficulties doe heighten their courage and reſolution, ſo here great afflictions and great ſtraits doe raiſe a Chriſtians graces, his faith, &c. to a higher pitch, as Camomell the more it is troden, the more it ſpreads and the ſweeter it ſmels, and ſo doe ſpices the more they are pounded, and a Pomander the more it is rubbed, and vines that are often pruned, the better they beare; ſo the graces of the Saints, the more they are exerciſed, the more they grow: as phyſick though it be bitter and ſometimes violent and churliſh in the working, yet the body afterward is the ſtronger by it, for it purgeth out the corrupt malignant humour that doth weaken the body, ſo doe afflictions and troubles, though ſometimes great and grievous, for the preſent, yet they doe good, they are a meanes to beget and increaſe ſpirituall ſtrength.

Thus

Thus *Afflictions and tryals* doe, as diſcover grace, ſo increaſe it by exerciſing of it, *Actus intendit habitum*, ſaith one, *ſi nervoſè fit*, the act doth increaſe the habit if it be done with all a mans might, ſo doe ſtrong afflictions, great tryals, for they put a man upon the exerciſe of all the grace he hath, to put it out to the uttermoſt. *Bellar.*

7. *The Lord often brings his people into great afflictions*, as to try and improve the graces of his Spirit in them, ſo likewiſe *to diſcover corruption*. Great afflictions, great tryals doe diſcover much corruption: *Peter* thought himſelfe much better then he was, till the tryall came, and then his unbeliefe and cowardiſe in Chriſts cauſe appeared. There were ſome who in Q. *Maries* dayes and other times of perſecution made boaſt they would ſuffer much for Chriſt, as *Peter* did, and went on far, but when it came to the pinch, to the point of ſuffering, they drew backe, we are generally like *Hazael*, apt to thinke we have no ſuch foule corruptions in us, ſuch vile luſts, but *Schola crucis, Schola lucis* is true alſo in this ſenſe, it diſcovers much corruption, and the greater the tryall is, the more corruption will appeare, witneſſe *Jobs* carriage in his ſufferings. The fleſh is like a cunning enemy, that will not diſcover all his ſtrength till he come to a pinch of need, and then puls out all he hath. 2 Kin. 8. 12, 13

Queſt. But you will ſay, what good will this doe?

Anſw. Much, for ſinne being diſcovered may more particularly be confeſſed, bewailed, repented of, oppoſed and amended; but more of this in the next.

8. The Lord ſometimes brings his people into great ſtraits, as to diſcover, ſo *to purge out corruption and purifie his people from the droſſe and filth of ſinne. I will turne my hand upon thee* (ſaith God) *i. e.* bring troubles upon thee (and marke what followes) *and purely purge away all thy droſſe*, &c. And Cap. 27. *By this ſhall the iniquity of* Jacob *be purged, and this is all the fruit to take away his ſinne*, by this, that is by afflictions and troubles, as appeares by, *v.* 7. So in *Daniel*, *Some of them of underſtanding* (i. e.) of the godly (who onely are truly wiſe) ſhall fall, *i. e.* into afflictions and great troubles, not to breake and deſtroy them, but as it followes, *to try and to purge them and make them white*. And againe, *Many ſhall be purified and made white*, namely by the great *Tunc anima purgatur, quum propter Deum premitur, Chryſ.* Iſ. 1. 25. & 27. 6. Dan. 11. 35. Dan. 12. 10.

troubles of the Church. So godly *Zechariah*, *I will bring the*
Zach.13 9. *third part through the fire, and will refine them as ſilver is refined*, &c. now we know the end of the Refiners caſting his metall, be it of ſilver or gold, is not to waſte and conſume it, but to purifie, doe away the droſſe and make it more precious: and ſo doth God deale with his people, when he caſteth them into the fire of affliction. Indeed afflictions and troubles in their owne nature drive men from God; if God follow a wicked man with grievous plagues and troubles, if they have their owne proper worke and effect, they make him more impatient and raging even to blaſpheme ſometimes, and the more grievous are their
Rev.16.9,11. troubles, the more outragious evill men are, *They were ſcorched with great heat and blaſphemed the name of God, and repented not to give God the glory, but blaſphemed the God of Heaven*, becauſe of their paines,--but God makes them to worke this good effect in his people, contrary to their owne nature, therefore
Iob 23.10. (ſaith *Job*) *When he hath tryed me I ſhall come forth as gold.*
Hoſ.2.5,7. When *Iſrael* went a whoring after her Idols, God hedged up her way with afflictions and troubles, there reſembled to thorns
2 Chron 33. and that made her to returne to God. All the while *Manaſſes* had his Kingdome and proſperity, he did multiply tranſgreſſion, but when God had ſtript him of his honour and pleaſure, and carried him into *Babylon*, and bound him with chaines, then he humbled himſelfe greatly and turned from all his evill waies
Luk.15. to God. So the Prodigall, while his mony and credit laſted he ſwagger'd it out in voluptuous courſes, but great extremities of want drove him to conſider his wayes, leave his evill courſes, and returne with teares in his eyes and ſorrow in his heart.

As of waters the running water is pureſt and wholeſomeſt, but that which ſtands ſtill will gather mud and putrifie: ſo it is with the godly, and the way to refine them is to drive them as men doe their wines from off the lees, from veſſell to veſſell, from one trouble to another; that is the way to refine them from the lees of ſinne, which otherwiſe they will be apt to
Ier 48 11. ſettle upon, as *Moab* did. Moab *hath bin at eaſe from his youth, & he is ſetled on his lees, & hath not bin emptied from veſſell to veſſell, neither hath he gone into captivity: therefore his taſte remaineth in him, and his ſent is not changed.*

9. *The*

9. *The Lord doth it to keepe his people from committing many ſins for the future.* If we had all things to our deſire and lived in proſperity but a while, we ſhould waxe wanton, goe on ſecurely in our owne wayes, and be ready to lift up the heele againſt God, as *Jeſurun* did when he waxed fat. So alſo did *Iſrael* in *Ezekiels* time. So did *Rehoboam* when he had eſtabliſhed the Kingdome and ſtrengthened himſelfe, *He forſooke the Law of the Lord and all* Iſrael *with him,* and *Uzziah when he was ſtrong, his heart was liſted up to his deſtruction,* and ſo *Hezekiah:* and what did *Salomons* great peace and proſperity, but beget in him abundance of luſts? *Becauſe they have no changes, therefore they feare not God,* ſaith *David,* Troubles, eſpecially great ſtraits make men ſtand in awe of God, and ſo doe prevent ſinne as well as purge out ſin; afflictions are like a hedge of thornes or wall by the way ſide, that keepe men from breaking out, and ſtepping aſide as otherwiſe they would. Afflictions are Gods rod, to keepe wicked men and Gods owne children in awe. As the Wolfe makes the Shepheard that before ſlept, to watch and ſtand upon his guard to prevent the ſpoyling of his flocke; ſo troubles make men to ſtand upon their watch, and be more carefull to avoid ſin for the future.

Deut 32. 15. Ezek. 16 7. to 16
2 Chro. 12. 1. 2 Chro. 26. 16.
Iſa. 39. 2.
Pſ. 55. 19.

10. *The Lord doth ſometimes bring his people into the Mount of troubles, to let them ſee the vanity and emptineſſe of the creatures,* that they are but as a broken ciſterne that is empty and wanting, when there is moſt need of water; like a hollow reed or a broken ſtaffe, that will faile a man at a pinch of need, and lay him in the dirt or midſt of the ditch, when it ſhould beare him over. When a man is brought into great ſtraits, even to extremity, then he ſees that there is no helpe in the creature, that vaine is the helpe of man, that Phyſitions, Friends and all leave him, becauſe they can doe him no good, and ſo in other caſes of extremity, when a man ſees that other outward meanes will doe him no good, but like a broken Bow will ſtart aſide and faile him, when it is hard drawne, then men ſee the vanity and nothingneſſe of the creatures. We are apt to thinke there are great matters in them, that much helpe and comfort is to be had from them, and therefore eagerly deſire them and doat on them, and

neglect God: therefore the wiſe God doth ſometimes bring his people into the Mount, into ſuch a condition that outward meanes and friends faile them, and will doe them no good, to let them ſee the vanity of all things under the Sunne.

11. *To weane us from the world*, make us weary of it and long after Heaven: *Afflictions and troubles* are good meanes to cure a man of love of the world: ſickneſſe, poverty, perſecution, and other great troubles, make men weary of their lives. *Elias* when he fled from the wrath of *Jezabel* and *Ahab*, he ſate under a Juniper tree, and requeſted for himſelfe that he might dye; not a word of dying before hee was brought into this great ſtrait, that he muſt either fly for his life, or dye by the hand of wicked *Iezabel*. This made *Paul* deſire to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, that he was then in bloody *Nero* his priſon, though that was not the ſole cauſe of that his deſire. If we had all things here at will, wee ſhould with *Peter* deſire to build Tabernacles and abide here; but afflictions and troubles, eſpecially great ones, make us weary of the world, like as wormewood on the mothers breſt doth imbitter it, and makes the child out of love with the breſt: So afflictions and troubles doe imbitter our worldly comforts, make us weary of the world, out of love with it and to aſpire and long after Heaven.

1 Kin. 19 4.

And both theſe tend much to draw his people to truſt in him, and ſo to rely and bottome themſelves upon him, as to commit themſelves to him, to roule themſelves and leane upon him alone. When a man is come ſo faire into ſuch an extremity, that all outward helpe and meanes faile him, and there is none to rely upon but God, that either he muſt caſt himſelfe wholy upon God, or periſh, be undone, if God helpe him not he is undone, he hath no hope elſe here, it will drive him to roule himſelfe and rely upon God, if there be any faith and hope in him that God can and will helpe; as a man ſhipwrackt at Sea, when hee ſees there is no other way to be ſaved but ſuch a rocke or plancke, then he caſteth himſelfe on that and reſolves to reſt thereon. Here *Abraham* was brought to a very great ſtrait, he caſt himſelfe on God, he beleeved that God was able to raiſe up his ſonne again from the dead, and

Heb. 11. 17, 18, 19.

and therefore hee caſt himſelfe upon God. So it wrought with *Paul* and others, they received the ſentence of death in themſelves (*i.e.*) ſaw no way or meanes of life, all hope from outward meanes failed, and therefore they caſt themſelves wholy on God, heate his words. *We received the ſentence of death in our ſelves, that we ſhould not truſt in our ſelves, but in God, which raiſeth the dead, who delivered us from ſo great a death.* 2 Cor. 1. 9, 10.

It was a great extremity *Paul* and the reſt were brought into, *Act.* 27. *No ſmall tempeſt lay on us* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *all hope that we ſhould be ſaved was taken away.* Act. 27. 20. See how this drove him to truſt in God, *v.* 25. *Sirs be of good cheare, I beleeve God,* &c. When the ſtorme was exceeding great, the Ship ſplit and all failed, nothing but the waves or peeces of plankes, yet then he caſt and committed himſelfe to God, yea then he muſt doe it or periſh, no hope, no helpe any other way. Thus the Lord would have his people to truſt in him and rely upon him alone, and this is a ſpecial meanes to drive men to it, to unbottome them of the creature; neceſſity is a good argument, and it is well if any thing will make a man truly and ſincerely to caſt himſelfe on God.

11. Sometimes againe, *The Lord brings his people into troubles, to make his Word and Promiſes ſweeter unto them, and all his mercies to reliſh better.* When a man is toſſed to and fro, and wearied with beating his braines and endeavouring by all wayes and meanes, yet in vaine, and as it were againſt the ſtreame and wind, ô how welcome then will a promiſe be to ſuch a ſoule! how ſweet will the word be to him that finds no helpe, no comfort in any outward thing! *This* (ſaid *David*) *is my comfort in mine affliction, thy word hath quickned me,* put life into his drooping, dying ſoule. Every mercy is ſweet to a gracious heart, but in caſe of extremity it is moſt ſweet; contraries doe beſt diſcover one another, the bitterer the affliction is here, the more grievous the trouble, the ſweeter will the word be to a gracious heart, as every thing is ſweet to an hungry ſoule. Pſ. 119. 50. *Contraria juxtaſe poſita magis eluceſcunt.*

Alſo troubles, bitter afflictions will ſweeten glory, they put a kind of excellency and eminency on Heaven and glo-

ry,

ry it ſelfe, and make it more ſweet and glorious. Great afflictions and troubles here, make Heaven (if I may ſo ſay) more heavenly: the haven is moſt pleaſing to a weather-beaten Mariner, ſweet after bitter, health after ſickneſſe, eaſe after paine, meat after hunger, the triumph after a ſharpe battell; ſo troubles here on Earth, doe after a ſort ſweeten the life to come and make it more excellent and ſoul-ravithing.

13. *The Lord dealeth thus with his people to increaſe thankfullneſſe in them for mercies.* When he comes in the very necke of time, at the laſt pinch, when all outward helpes and hopes faile, then mercy will be welcom: indeed and thankfully received. Here when it was come to the uttermoſt, *Abrahams* hand was lifted up to ſlay his ſonne, then comes a diſpenſation from God, which much affected *Abraham*, therefore he preſently (as it were) erects a monument with this inſcription, *In the Mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeene, and called the name of the place* Jehovah-jireh, *i. e. the Lord will ſee or provide.* So in *Heſters* time when things were brought to a great height, a deſperate pinch, then God workes their deliverance and they were much affected with it, when a man is brought to extremity then mercy affects much, and accordingly the heart is inlarged in thankfulneſſe. The more bitter the affliction is, and the greater the extremity, the more welcome and thankſ-worthy mercy and deliverance will be. A hungry beggar will be thankfull for every ſmall matter and courſe almes; but he that is full is ready to ſlight every thing; *A full ſtomacke loaths the hony-combe*, ſayes *Salomon*.

Heſt. c. 4. & 9.

Pro. 27. 7.

14. Laſtly, the Lord ſuffers the enemies of his people to prevaile and bring his people to an extremity, that he may have occaſion to manifeſt his glorious Power, Wiſdome and Juſtice alſo.

1. *His Power, Wiſdome* and *Goodneſſe* in the manifeſt ſupport of his people in their troubles, holding them up (as it were by the chinne) in the midſt of the waters, that they ſinke not: So Gods admirable power and goodneſſe did appeare, in making the Arke to float ſafe upon the waters, the buſh to burne and not be conſumed, the Church to be brought into great ſtraites, ſometimes to the utter moſt extremity, and yet not be quite diſ-

ſolved

ſolved and periſh, likewiſe preſerving *Daniel* in the Lyons den; the three children in the fiery furnace, *Jonas* in the Whales belly.

Likewiſe in delivering them out of extremities, that when it comes to that paſſe, that point of extremity, that all helps and meanes faile, yet that he can and will help at ſuch a pinch of need, a dead lift, when none elſe can, here appeares his great care, wiſedome, and goodneſſe to his people, as in delivering *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, where they had been ſo many hundred yeares, and under ſo powerfull an enemy, and *Judah* out of *Babylon*, *Peter* out of priſon, *Jonas* out of the Whales belly.

2. *His juſtice* appeares alſo in the deſtruction and confuſion of the enemies of his Church, as *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, proud and potent enemies, *Senacheribs* great army. Of *Pharaoh* it is ſaid, and may be of the reſt of them: *For this cauſe have I raiſed thee up, to ſhew in thee my power, and that my Name may be declared throughout all the earth.* God ſometimes ſuffers his people to be brought into great extremity, and their incorrigible enemies to goe far and prevaile much for a time, but it is that his power and juſtice may be more cleare and remarkeable in their deſtruction. Exod. 9. 16. Rom 9. 17.

Beloved, theſe are the reaſons and ends why the Lord brings his people into afflictions and troubles, even into the Mount ſometimes, to the uttermoſt extremity, to humble them the more, and make them the more fit for mercy, to prove their faith, patience, love and obedience, to manifeſt the truth and ſtrength of his owne grace in them, to quicken them to duty, to exerciſe and brighten their graces, and increaſe grace, to diſcover corruption, purge out ſinne, purifie and prevent ſinne, to let them ſee the vanity of the creatures; weane them from the world, and draw them to relye wholly on him, to make his Word and Ordinances ſweeter, to make them more thankfull, and to ſhew his power, wiſedome, providence, and goodneſſe in preſerving and delivering his people, and his juſtice alſo in deſtroying his and their ſtubborne enemies.

tantum almitetur Deus alus t mare quaſſi t be proceſſ. ut exerc. ars, ut probetur ut qui te non ſe cbandte ipſo inveniatis. S. Aug. in Pſal. 61.

Now while I tell you what Gods end and ayme is, I doe alſo tell you what is your duty, it is to put you on, to j yne with God, to accompliſh his ends. *Now the Lord* hath brought us into the

Mount, almoſt to the very top, I truſt for ſome great mercy to his people, doe you now labour to anſwer Gods ends, to be kindly and throughly humbled, and ſo fit for mercy, fit for deliverance, fit for peace and reformation: The great mercy that God intends, therefore to manifeſt your faith and obedience, your love and patience at this time of tryall, to manifeſt to the world the truth and ſtrength of your graces, be quickened to duties of faſting and prayer; exerciſe grace, and let your profiting appeare; labour to finde out your lurking corruptions, to be rid of them, to be more carefull to avoyde ſinne for the time to come, to ſee the vanity of all outward things, and be weaned from the world, long and labour after Heaven, to reſt wholly on God, find more ſweetneſſe in the Ordinances, be more thankfull for mercies when they come, and admire Gods pure wiſedome and goodneſſe towards you, and juſtice on his Churches enemies, when God ſhall take vengeance on his adverſaries, and deliver his *Iſrael*.

Uſe. 1. For *terrour* to the enemies of Gods people. If his owne people are ſubject to ſufferings and troubles, and are ſometimes brought into ſuch extremities, that they know not what to doe, or which way to turne themſelves, what ſhall then the wicked, and the enemies of his people ſuffer? If all that will live godly muſt ſuffer, and ſometimes undergoe hard things, ſhall the wicked eſcape? Doth God deale ſo with his children, what then will he doe with his ſervants, yea with his enemies, the ſlaves and vaſſals of Satan? will he not ſpare them that make conſcience of their wayes, that endeavour to live moſt holily, to walke uprightly with God in all their wayes, what will he doe with them that live prophanely, looſely, ſcandalouſly? If God ſo laſh them that ſinne out of infirmity, weakneſſe, ignorance, want of watchfulneſſe, careleſneſſe, whoſe hearts are bent to pleaſe the Lord, and honour him, what will he doe with them that wittingly and wilfully goe on ſtill in their ſinnes, after many faire warnings and admonitions? If ſinnes of infirmity be accompanyed with croſſes and troubles, and that in extremity ſometimes, what will be the end of bloud-ſhed, of whoredome, drunkenneſſe, curſing, ſwearing, fearefull imprecations, ſcorning and ſcoffing at goodneſſe, and envying purity and ſincerity?

rity ? If he deale ſo hardly (as it may ſeeme) with *Abraham, Jacob, David, Jeremy*, and other his deareſt ones, what will he doe with prophane *Eſau's*, ſcoffing *Iſmaels*, curſed *Cams*, and the reſt of the rabble of wicked men ? *If it be thus with the greene Tree, what ſhall be done to the dry* ? If God deale thus with his owne people, what will he doe with his and their enemies ? the common enemies of his Church, bloud-thirſty enemies, that ſeeke the ſuppreſſion of his glorious Goſpell, the ruine and deſtruction of his Church & people? *Behold* (ſayes *Solomon*) *the righteous ſhall be recompenced in the earth*, much more the wicked and the ſinner. I conceive the place to be meant of ſuffering for evill-doing, God will correct and puniſh his owne people, therefore much more the ungodly, and moſt of all the profeſſed bloud-thirſty enemies of his Church: *If Iudgement begin at the houſe of God, where ſhall the ſinner and ungodly appeare ?* yea where ſhall the profeſſed and publicke enemies of the Church appeare ? *If Chriſt ſhall be revealed from Heaven in flaming fire, with his mighty Angels, to take vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Goſpell of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and puniſh them with everlaſting deſtruction from the preſence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power*, what ſhall be the end of theſe men that deſpiſe and ſpurne at the Goſpell, and ſeeke to ſuppreſſe it ? ſuſpend and ſilence the moſt able, faithfull and conſcionable Preachers of it ?

Luk. 23 31.

Prov. 11. 31.

1 Pet. 4. 17, 18.

2 Theſ. 1, 7, 8, 9

See *Jer.* 25. *ver.* 12, &c. where God by his Prophet *Jeremy*, after he had threatned the *Jewes* with 70 yeares captivity, he propheſies of the utter deſtruction, and perpetuall deſolation of *Babylon*, and other Nations that were the adverſaries of his Church and people, and *ver.* 15. he cauſeth the Prophet to take the cup of Gods wrath, and make all the Nations drinke of it, but eſpecially looke upon and weigh well, *ver.* 28, 29. *In caſe they refuſe, ſaith the Lord, to take the cup at thy hand to drinke, then ſhalt thou ſay unto them, Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* ye ſhall certainly drinke. *For loe*, marke the reaſon, *I bring evill on the City that is called by my Name, and ſhould ye be utterly unpuniſhed ?* ye ſhall not be unpuniſhed. This is the uſe wicked men, eſpecially the enemies of the Church ſhould make of this point, to think of it with dread and aſtoniſhment, to repent and amend ; for to them

Phil. 1. 28.

them that will ſtill goe on in their evill wayes, *this very thing that they are enemies, is to them an evident token of perdition*, ſaith the Apoſtle.

For in common reaſon, If they that are Gods owne peculiar people, who have the ſpirit of God and Chriſt, who are the ſonnes and daughters of the God of Heaven, the dearly beloved of his ſoule, whom he loves next to himſelfe in Chriſt, who are all beautuous and lovely in his ſight, being adorned with the graces of his ſpirit, who are his jewels, as deare to him as the apple of his eye, who doe often bewaile their ſinnes againſt God, judge and condemne themſelves for them, have the Spirit of God and Chriſt to pleade for them, who doe unfainedly deſire to pleaſe God and honour him, and walke uprightly before him: If his *Abrahams*, *Jobs*, *Jacobs*, *Daniels*, and other his Favourites ſuffer grievous things, and are ſometimes brought into great extremities, then I appeale to thine owne conſcience) thinke what thy doome is like to be, that never repenteſt, that ſeldome prayeſt in private, that never ſtriveſt againſt ſinne, but rather ſtriveſt to exceed in ſinne, at leaſt goeſt on ſtill in ſin and ſinfull courſes, againſt all reproofe, checks of conſcience, admonitions, &c.

And can it ever ſinke into the head of any reaſonable man, that the adverſaries of his people, the malignant enemies of the Church ſhall goe unpuniſhed, when his owne deareſt children eſcape not the rod? *Beleeve it Brethren*, every diſgrace, every diſeaſe, every affliction that befals the righteous, is to the wicked, eſpecially to the open enemies of his people a pledge of that everlaſting ſhame, and thoſe everlaſting woes, plagues, curſes, eaſeleſſe torments which ſhall ſeaze upon them for evermore. *If the Lord Chriſt himſelfe*, when he ſtood in our roome, and ſuſtained the perſon of a ſinner (though he was in himſelfe without ſinne, moſt holy, harmeleſſe, the Son of God, and heire of all) ſuffered ſuch grievous things, had his blood ſhed, his fleſh rent, and his ſoule poured forth, yea brought to that extremity, that (though ſupported by his God-head) he cryed out in the extreame bitterneſſe of his ſoule, lying under the ſence of divine wrath, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* then ſurely nothing remaines to wretched ſinners, that notwithſtanding

ding all warnings goe on ſtill in their evill wayes, but a fearefull expectation of judgement. This is the firſt uſe of this point, *terrour* to wicked men, eſpecially to ſuch as are the profeſſed enemies of his Church or people.

Secondly, ſeeing the godly, even the moſt faithfull ſervants of God are here ſubject to ſufferings and tryals, and that of the greateſt, then let us hence learn this point of ſpirituall wiſdome, to prepare for the worſt. What hath been the caſe of the Church or people of God formerly, may be ours hereafter, yea it is already in a great meaſure, things are growne very high, we are come to the top of the Mount, and *Iſaac* is even ready to be ſlaine. *Uſe* 2.

And be ſure of this, while there is a Devill, and he at liberty, who is an enemy to all mankinde, but eſpecially to the Church of Chriſt, and the godly in it, againſt whom he hath a moſt bitter enmity and implacable malice, the godly muſt looke for troubles, even the moſt grievous that he can procure.

2. Alſo while there are wicked men, the Devils inſtruments, ſet on fire from Hell, heated with moſt bitter envy and rage againſt the godly, ſeeking to hinder their welfare, and diſturbe their peace, partly out of ignominy of God, Jeſus Chriſt, and the worth, and excellency, and uprightneſſe of the Saints; partly out of malice againſt the Saints whom they hate, and whoſe graces, goodneſſe, and outward proſperity they envy, and ſpecially this great happineſſe, which ſurely God intends his people by this great and long deſired worke of reformation, ſo happily and hopefully begun by the worthies of *Iſrael*, eſpecially while the Papiſts, Prieſts and Jeſuites, the Devils choiſe inſtruments doe continue among us, we can looke for no ſetled peace and ſecurity, but the worſt they can poſſibly doe: As well may the Lambes live ſafe among Wolves, the Calves among Lyons, Hares among Hounds, and the Dove among Kites, thinke to be quiet, ſecure and ſafe, as the godly thinke to be quiet and ſecure, to enjoy proſperity and peace with wicked men, eſpecially with *Rome*, while *Romes baſtard brood* of curſed Impes, the Prieſts and Jeſuites find harbour among us, beſides other exigents and tryals, that God uſually brings his people into for their good in the concluſion, as well as he did *Abraham* here. Gen 3.15. 1 Pet.5.8. Joh.16.2. 1 Pet.4.4. Pſal 38.20. 1 Joh.3.12.

Yet ſuch is our folly for the moſt part, that we never thinke of trouble till it comes. When the Morning is faire, and the Sun ſhines, we feare not a ſtorme, and ſo are ſometimes taken (as it were) without our cloake. We are wonderfull apt to promiſe peace, health and proſperity to our ſelves, and to put far from us the evill day; but if neither *Abraham*, nor *Jacob*, nor *Job*, nor *David*, nor others (though the friends of God, and very powerfull with God, beloved and approved of him, men of renowne, Kings and Princes, for outward accommodation in the world, learned, wiſe, great and honourable) could not be priviledged in this particular, but found many and great troubles and tryals, and were brought ſometimes to the uttermoſt extremities, why ſhould any of us (if we be indeed ſuch as we would be thought to be, the children and faithfull ſervants of God) thinke to eſcape ſuch things?

Therefore we ſhould doe wiſely to premeditate of evils, and prepare for them before-hand, and the wiſe-hearted will doe ſo. Prov. 22. 3. *A prudent man foreſeeth the evill, and hideth himſelfe* (ſaith *Salomon*) *but the ſimple paſſe on and are puniſhed.* There is the benefit of premeditation and fore-arming our ſelves, we may more eaſily eſcape evils, as a ſtorme foreſeen may be avoyded by flying to a ſhelter. And if troubles foreſeen cannot be prevented or avoyded, yet they may be much more eaſily borne, by being fore-armed by expectation and preparation. A blow foreſeen may be kept off, at leaſt from doing that hurt which otherwiſe it would doe. Great evils, yea ſmall ones, when they come ſuddenly upon us, unexpected and unprepared, they often ſtrike deep, and afflict ſore, more then others that are far greater which we expected and prepared for.

The neglect of this preparation for evill times, is a maine reaſon why even good men are ſo exceedingly perplexed when ſudden evils befall them, ſo unpatient and uncomfortable, and others fall off from the truth and the profeſſion thereof, like the houſe builded on the ſand when a ſtorme came, becauſe they did not before-hand lay a good foundation, thinke what they ſhould meet with in the way to Heaven, and prepare for the worſt.

Queſt.

Queſt. You will ſay what is to be done, that we may be prepared for troubles, that whatſoever troubles may befall us, we may be able with comfort to undergoe them?

Anſw. 1. *Firſt and above all, get God to be thy friend,* to be reconciled unto him, and have intereſt in him: *For if God be with us* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *who can be againſt us? what enemy? what weapon can prevaile?* If a man be brought into the Mount, into never ſo great troubles, to the uttermoſt extremity, that all meanes, helps and hopes in the world faile him; yet if he have aſſurance of Gods love and favour (who is all ſufficient, and all in all) all outward troubles and wants will ſeem little or nothing to him. Therefore here *Abraham* went as willingly into the Mount, and did undergoe this great tryall, with as compoſed and cheerfull a ſpirit, and ſo hath many a faithfull ſervant of God formerly, and of late yeares, went to priſon, to the Pillory, yea to the ſtake, as cheerfull as many a man would goe to his owne houſe. Therefore ſeeke unto God betimes, make thy peace with him, confeſſe and bewayle thy ſinnes, humble thy ſelfe before him, intreat his favour in the Lord Jeſus, as the Sydonians did *Herods* favour, by the meanes of *Blaſtus* the Kings Chamberlaine. And this if we doe, be at peace with him while we are in peace and proſperity, he will know our ſouls in adverſity, and we ſhall alwayes have a rocke to fly unto, in the greateſt waves and ſurges of affliction, and a ſure way to ſave all, even then when we loſe all in the world for his ſake.

Directions. Rom 8 31. Ha. 54.17. Act. 12. Mat. 10.39.

2. *Fore-caſt the coſt and charge of Religion, and likewiſe the rewards and comforts.* Fore-thinke the worſt that may come, the greateſt afflictions, troubles, perſecution, or other tryals that can befall. And thinke alſo of the rich reward and comforts of well doing here and hereafter, and then caſt up the accounts, and ſee what a mighty diſproportion there is betwixt the afflictions and troubles here, and glory hereafter: As the Apoſtle did (ſaith he) *I reckon, that the ſufferings of this preſent time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which ſhall be revealed in us.* *I reckon,* He caſt up all before-hand. The word λογίζομαι ſignifies (not as the vulgar tranſlation renders it, *Exiſtimo, I thinke,* implying only a probable conjecture, but) a certaine weighing and concluding upon ſound conſideration. As a man that caſts up

Rom 8.18. *In vulgata Edit Roberti Stephani.*

up accounts, reckons up all the ſmall ſummes, and layes the particulars together, to ſee what the product or totall is: ſo the Apoſtle caſts up all the particular ſufferings that he had or could ſuffer from the hands of God, Men, Devils, or any other creatures, or any way for righteouſneſſe ſake, and layes all together and then compares that with glory and upon ſound judgement concludes, *I reckon that the ſufferings* ---- And ſo muſt we doe, if we would comfortably undergoe the worſt condition, as *Paul* did. This good adviſe our Saviour gave to his followers, when he ſaw great multitudes, he turned to them and ſaid, *Whoſoever doth not beare his Croſſe and come after me, he cannot be my Diſciple.* Also more clearly in the Paraboles of building a Tower, and making warre with another King; therefore fore-caſt the coſt, conſider before-hand what you may ſuffer, and the great and incomparable reward of well-doing and ſuffering in a good cauſe.

Luk. 14 27. 28, 29, 30, 31.

2. *Settle in thy heart a full purpoſe and firme reſolution* in the Name of God, to ſtand it out, to undergoe the worſt, come what will come; be it loſſe of credit in the world, loſſe of liberty or wealth, yea, to dye, and to part with all rather then Chriſt and his truth, or betray the peace of the Land, or doe any unrighteous action, reſolve to ſuffer rather then to ſinne. Such a reſolution *Paul* had, when his friends told him that he muſt be bound at *Jeruſalem*, and be delivered into the hands of the *Gentiles*, and beſought him with teares not to goe up to *Jeruſalem*, ſaith he, *What doe ye meane to Weep and to breake my heart? I am ready not to be bound only, but alſo to dye at* Jeruſalem *for the Name of the Lord Jeſus.* Likewiſe Cap. 20. *The Holy-Ghoſt witneſſeth in every City, ſaying, That bonds and afflictions abide me, but none of theſe things move me, neither count I my life deare unto my ſelfe, ſo that I might finiſh my courſe With joy, and the miniſtry which I have received of the Lord Jeſus.* Reſolution will carry a man on far, and inable him to undergoe much.

Act. 21 13.

C. 20. v. 23, 24.

4 *Labour for an habit of Self-denyall.* This will be of great uſe, and help us much; Therefore our Lord Chriſt when he exhorted any to follow him in taking up his Croſſe, *(i.e.)* by a willing ſubmitting to ſuffer and undergoe all troubles, they ſhould meet with in the way to Heaven, gives them this good counſell,

ſell, and commands them to obſerve it, *to deny themſelves. If any man will come after me, let him deny himſelfe, and take up his Croſſe, and follow me.* Marke the order of the words, and then this will follow, That he that will beare all afflictions and tryals comfortably, and follow Chriſt ſincerely, muſt firſt deny himſelfe. When a thing is dead, you may doe with it what you will, pricke it, or throw it into the fire, it is not moved: ſo it is with the man, whoſe carnall will, reaſon and affections are mortified; when a man is dead to the world, then whipping, buffeting, or the fiery tryall of perſecution, which ſtrips a man of all outward things, troubles him not, or very little. *Let us* therefore labour to mortifie our luſts, to deny our ſelves, take off our hearts and affections from the world, and the things of it, and ſet them upon God, Chriſt, Heaven, and Life eternall, and ſo on the wayes and meanes that will bring us thither; for he that hath learned to deny himſelfe in any thing, and hath his heart weaned from them, will without trouble part with an *Iſaac*, with any thing at Gods command, ſuffer the loſſe of all with joy, as the faithfull *Jewes* did, *Heb.*10. and regard no bands, afflictions, or ſufferings, *They loved not their lives unto the death. None of theſe things move me* (ſaid *Paul*, a ſelf-denying Chriſtian) *neither count I my life deare unto me*, &c. Mat.16.24. Heb.10.34. Rev.12.11. Act.20.23,24.

Oh this world is a mighty hinderance to ſuffering! When God cals into the Mount, theſe earthly comforts and contentments are like a great clog on our hearts, and hinder us much. We are wonderfull unwilling to part with a deare friend, eſpecially an *Iſaac*, a beloved ſonne, or husband, or wife, or our eſtates, preferment, reputation in the world, eaſe, liberty, or any carnall contentments we affect; therefore get thy heart off from theſe, deny thy ſelfe in thoſe, or whatſoever worldly thing is deare unto thee, and then it will be an eaſie matter with *Abraham* to follow God into the Mount, to doe or ſuffer any thing at his command, and for his ſake.

5. That a man may undergoe with comfort greater tryals, *he muſt begin and exerciſe himſelfe with ſmaller ſufferings to beare them cheerfully.* He muſt doe as men doe for temporall skirmiſhes, to fight with men. Firſt, they learne in private Schooles, and it may be with woodden ſwords, or with blunted points, that

will doe little or no hurt. They that will be victorious in ſet-battles, doe firſt traine themſelves at home, and ſee how they can carry themſelves, learne their ſeverall poſtures for every ſudden emergent occaſion, ſhoot firſt with powder at marks, &c. So a Chriſtian that would behave himſelfe bravely in Chriſts field, in Chriſts cauſe with *Abraham*, *Job*, &c. muſt learne and exerciſe himſelfe at home and before hand; learne to ſuffer at home, and beare the thruſts of woodden Swords: the perſecutions of Proteſtants, the ſcoffes, ſcorns, reproaches, and other vile carriages of carnall Proteſtants, before he enter into the field to encounter the bloody perſecutions of Papiſts and their Adherents: He that cannot indure the frownes, diſgraces, threats, and ſuch like petty injuries from evill men; prophane wretches though they be great perſons in the world, will never by any ordinary providence ſtand out to ſhed his blood in the cauſe of God, for the Lord Chriſt and his Countries good.

So againe, he that cannot beare petty loſſes, croſſes or troubles, will hardly ever great tryals with more then ordinary aſſiſtance from God. It is therefore good to begin betimes, to accuſtome our ſelves to beare and ſlight all ſcoffes, ſcornes, and frownes of men, cheerfully to undergoe all ſmall loſſes and troubles, *& ſic itur ad magna*, and ſo we ſhall in time be inabled to undergoe great things with little alteration in our affection, yea, with much patience, cheerfulneſſe, courage and conſtancy.

6. Labour to have a ſtrong Well rooted and Well grounded faith and love of God and Chriſt.

1. *Faith*, a well planted and well grounded faith, this will enable to cleave unto God in the hardeſt times, to caſt our ſelves, and rely wholy on his providence, in hope, above hope, when all worldly means, helps and hopes faile.

Eph.3.17. 2. *Love*, labour to be rooted and grounded in love, as the Apoſtle ſpeakes; what is the reaſon that many fall away in evill times, in times of ſuffering? is it not becauſe they have no true, ſincere love to Jeſus Chriſt and his Truth? *Many Waters*

Cant.8.6,7. *are not able to quench Love, neither can floods of Water drowne*

Rom.8.37,38 *it, i.e.* no afflictions, miſeries or calamities whatſoever can ſeparate ſuch a ſoule from Chriſt, his cauſe and waies, but as he

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in the Story, if one hand be cut off he will hold by the other, if that alſo be cut off, he will catch hold with his teeth. He will reſolve with *Ruth* for Chriſt, and the cauſe of God and his Countries good; *Whither thou goeſt I will goe, and where thou lodgeſt I will lodge, where thou dieſt I will die*, &c. Ruth 1.16, 17.

Therefore Beloved in the Lord, labour for a well grounded faith, and a ſound, unfained love to God, to Jeſus Chriſt and your Countries peace and welfare; ſound love I ſay (not ſuperficiall, a lip-love, but) a deepe rooted and well grounded love. The reaſon why the good ſeed that was ſowne, and ſprang up quickly, wither'd when the Sunne roſe, was, becauſe it had not found rooting, it wanted root; be carefull therefore to have a well grounded love that hath good rooting, root of judgement and root of affection, to have ſuch a love as Chriſt hath to us, even to dye for us, ſo doe you love him ſo, as to be willing to part with an *Iſaac*, with any thing, be it life it ſelfe for his ſake. Now treaſure up faith and patience and love, as *Joſeph* did corne ſeeing a day of utterance will come, a day of ſpending not of getting, a day wherein all wee have may bee little enough.

7. To adde one more (for we cannot ſay too much, we cannot be too well prepared for the evill day) I ſay with the Apoſtle, *Put on the Whole Armour of God, that you may be able to withſtand in the evill day, and having done all, to ſtand: for we wreſtle not with fleſh and blood, but againſt principalities and powers*, &c. If a man be to fight with his enemy in the field, he will put on his armour to defend himſelfe in the beſt wiſe he can, and great reaſon he ſhould doe ſo, his life is in danger. In like manner ſhould the true Chriſtian doe, we in our ſuffrings and tryals, have to encounter, not onely with outward troubles, and inward corruptions, but alſo with Satan, who is not fleſh and blood, but a ſpirit mighty in power and policy, therefore called Principalities, Powers, the Rulers of the darkneſſe of this world, the god of this world, &c. and therefore we have great need to buckle about us all the peeces of our ſpirituall armour, and be well skilled in the uſe of them, and they are theſe 7. The Eph. 6. 11, 12, 13.

1. *Peece of the Chriſtians ſpirituall Armour*, is *the girdle of* ver. 14.

Truth, that is, *Uprightneſſe, Sincerity and ſingle heartedneſſe, to ſticke to the Truth for the Truths ſake, to take Chriſt for himſelfe, Religion for Religions ſake.* A girdle is for uſe and ornament, it is comely and profitable, and ſo is this, it will be of great uſe for a Chriſtian in evill times, as a girdle was in thoſe dayes when men wore long garments, to bind them together that they might better apply themſelves to their worke, runne, goe, or doe any thing which a long looſe garment would hinder: Therefore buckle on this peece of Armour, labour to be ſincere, upright hearted in all your wayes and dealings with God and men, and to imbrace Chriſt, the truth and Religion for themſelves, not for by-reſpects.

Ver. 14. 2. *The Breaſt-plate of Righteouſneſſe or Juſtice, Put on the Breſt-plate of Righteouſneſſe*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *Righteouſneſſe* or Juſtice (I meane diſtributive Juſtice) whereby a man doth carry himſelfe righteouſly and juſtly in all his wayes toward God and men, giving unto God that beliefe, love, feare, honour, praiſe and obedience that is due unto him, and to men that love, reſpect, obedience, &c. that is due unto him, I meane in reſpect of unfained deſire and endeavour. This is a Breſt-plate, what is the uſe of a Breſt-plate? to guard the heart, liver and other vitall parts from darts, arrowes, ſhot and the thruſts of the enemies: ſo doth Righteouſnes guard a man againſt temptations in times of tryall.

Therfore labor to manifeſt the truth and power of godlines, by an hearty indeavour to walke in obedience to all the commands of God, to give unto God that tribute of praiſe, love, &c. that to
2 Cor. 1. 12. him appertaineth and is due, *Render to God the things that are Gods.* The Apoſtle tels us the beneſit of it, when he ſaith, *This is our reioycing*, (namely in times of affliction and trouble) *the teſtimony of our conſcience, that in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity we have had our converſation in the world*; this will
Pſal. 119. 6. comfort and cheere the ſpirit in evill times. *Then ſhall I*
1 Tim. 4. 8, 7, 8. *not be aſhamed* (ſaid *David*) *when I have reſpect to all thy commandments.* So *Paul, I am now ready to be offered up*, (i.e. to ſhed my blood for the Goſpell and Chriſt) *hence-forth is laid up for me a crowne of Righteouſneſſe*, &c. But how came he by this comfort and confidence, that he could with ſuch willing-

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neſſe ſhed his blood in the cauſe of Chriſt? ſaith he, *I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith*, the doctrine and grace of faith. Oh what a comfort will it be to a man in evill times, in all his troubles, that he can truly ſay, I have walked uprightly before God, I have diſcharged a good conſcience *in all things*, I have lived *in all good conſcience* towards God, and towards man. Ver. 15.

A 3d. Peece of ſpiritnall armour are *ſhooes of peace, ſhod with the preparation of the Goſpell of peace, i.e.* when a man hath true peace of conſcience and with God, ariſing from the knowledge of the Goſpell, and what God and Chriſt hath done for him. Likewiſe, when he hath true Chriſtian patience, a patient ſpirit to ſuffer any thing for Chriſt and the Goſpell. This will prepare and arme the ſoule againſt all troubles a man ſhall meet with in the way to Heaven; as ſhooes doe ſave the feet, and arme them againſt the prickes and thornes. If a man have no ſhooes, though he may walke well on the ſmooth ground, yet he cannot endure ſharp gravell, prickes and thornes; but he that is well ſhod can tread upon them, and make a ſport of it: So many can endure any reproaches &c. by reaſon of patience and inward peace: that is one maine reaſon why the Martyrs were not moved with perſecution, impriſonment, yea, rejoyced at the ſtake, in the midſt of the flames; therefore labour to be ſhod with the preparation of the Goſpell of peace, to be armed with peace and Chriſtian patience. This will arme a man againſt the prickes. Act. 5. 41. Heb. 10. 34.

A 4 b. Peece of ſpirituall armour is, *The ſhield of faith. Above all* (ſayes the Apoſtle) *take the ſhield of faith.* There is a double faith, hiſtoricall and juſtifying. Eph. 6. 16.

Firſt a man muſt have *hiſtoricall faith*, which is an aſſent to the truth knowne. A man muſt be ſoundly principled and informed in the grounds of the true Chriſtian Religion, otherwiſe he ſhall never be able to ſuffer for the Goſpell of Chriſt, till well grounded in the truth of Chriſt, much leſſe wholly caſt himſelfe upon the goodneſſe of God, and lay downe his life for Chriſt. He that would be able to ſuffer for the Goſpell, muſt firſt know and be aſſured that that is the only true Religion, and that the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, which by the goodneſſe of God we enjoy and profeſſe, is evidently grounded upon the

Goſpell of Chriſt. A man will never ſuffer for that he doth, unleſſe he hath good ground for what he ſuffers; for what man will lay downe his life for he knowes not what? An ignorant perſon is eaſily ſeduced and drawne from the true Proteſtant Religion to Popery, becauſe he hath no good ground for his Religion, though there be cleare ground enough for it in the word of God. *Paul* did indeed valiantly ſtand to the truth of the Goſpell: *For which cauſe I ſuffer theſe things, Neverthelesſe I am not aſhamed*, marke his reaſon, *for I know whom I have believed*. So againe, *I am not aſhamed of the Goſpell of Chriſt, for* (ſaith he) *it is the power of God unto ſalvation*; therefore he was confident in it, and moſt willing to ſuffer for it. Labour therefore to be well grounded in the knowledge of the truth, that you may be able to anſwer the adverſary, when he ſhall aske you, why will you runn your ſelfe into danger? why will you ſuffer? remember your ſelfe, life is ſweet, and the fire is terrible? you may anſwer, why ſhould I not? I know that it is the truth, I can give you good reaſon of my faith from Gods owne word; therefore doe your pleaſure, I will never deny it, or ſhrinke from it.

a Tim. 1. 12.

Rom. 1. 16.

2. *Saving or iuſtifying faith*, which we may properly call alſo divine faith, which is a grace of God, whereby a man doth reſt himſelfe on the promiſes of the Goſpell, waiting upon God, for the accompliſhing of them to himſelfe in particular, in Gods due time, by which a man doth ſhrowd himſelfe under the wing of Gods protection, for help againſt all evill and evill ones, and for ſtrength in temptations and tryals. This guards the ſoule as a ſhield and buckler doe the body: It makes God our ſhield and buckler, againſt all the fiery darts of the Devill our adverſary, who is moſt buſie in times of affliction and tryals. *Above all, take the ſhield of faith.*

This will hold up the head in the midſt of all ſufferings and tryals. I *had fainted* (ſaid *David*) *unleſſe I had beleeved to ſee the goodneſſe of the Lord in the Land of the living. The iuſt ſhall live by his faith* (ſaith the Apoſtle from the Prophet *Habakkuk*) hee ſpeaks of evill times, when there is nothing to ſupport but his faith in God, as *Abraham* here. *This inables* the true Chriſtian *to overcome the world*, in all temptations and allurements from

Pſ. 27. 13. Heb. 10. 37. Hab. 2. 4.

1 Joh. 5. 4.

the

the world and evill men. This made *Paul* and the Apoſtles, and all thoſe worthies mentioned, *Heb.* 11. ſo courageous in all afflictions and tryals; therefore labour to have a firme faith, in the undoubted accompliſhment of all the gracious promiſes of God in due time.

5. *Hope, The Helmet of ſalvation.* Hope of Heaven and ſalvation ariſing from a true faith in Gods mercy through Chriſt. This ſafeguards a Chriſtian againſt all aſſaults of Satan and tryals in affliction, as an helmet ſafeguards the head, againſt all darts and blowes of the adverſary in the day of battell. What will not a man doe or undergoe, that hath ſome evidence and hope of ſalvation? Therefore to faith joyne hope, that as by faith we lay hold on eternall ſalvation, ſo we may by hope patiently wait for it. Eph. 6. 17. Heb 10 34 & 11. 35.

6. *The ſword of the ſpirit, which is the Word of God.* When a man is well verſed in the word, and doth make that the rule of his life, to be guided and governed by it in all things, and doth anſwer all temptations, carnall friends, and their reaſonings, as our Saviour did Satan, with a *Scriptum eſt, It is written, thou ſhalt not* doe this or that. This will firſt backe temptations to evill, as a ſword held to the breaſt of a theefe, will (if any thing will) keep him from doing that miſchiefe he intends. 2. It ſerves to direct a man in all conditions how to carry himſelfe, *Pſal* 119. *Thy word is a light unto my paths, and a lanthorne unto my feet, it giveth underſtanding to the ſimple*, &c. 3. It comforteth the upright with it's moſt gracious and moſt ſweet promiſes: ſo it did *David, In the multitude of my thoughts within me, thy comforts delight my ſoule.* When *David* was caſt downe with manifold ſtraits and troubles on every ſide, that he knew not what to doe, the word afforded him ſweet comfort. Againe, *Unleſſe thy Law had been my delight I ſhould have periſhed in mine afflictions.* Againe, *Though I walke in the valley of the ſhadow of death, I will feare none evill, for thy rod and thy ſtaffe they comfort me*: The rod and ſtaffe is the word of God, eſpecially the promiſes that are as a ſtaffe to truſt upon. It is of ſingular uſe, as alwayes, ſo eſpecially in evill times to a gracious heart; therefore take to you this weapon alſo, labour to have *the word of God dwell in you richly, (i. e.)* plentifully, to be well skilled and verſed in it, that Pſ. 119. 105. & 99. 104. Pſ. 94. 19. Pſ. 119 92. Col. 3. 16.

that you may have it ready upon all occaſions, to make uſe of it.

Eph. 6. 18. 7. To the reſt adde *Prayer*. *Praying* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *always*, &c. We may not at any time, much leſſe in times of tryall, ſtand on our owne bottomes, relye on our owne ſtrength, but pray unto God that he will inable us to undergoe all ſuffrings and tryals. We cannot ſee how the Martyrs could poſſibly endure thoſe grievous flames, if they had not often and earneſtly beſought God to prepare them for evill times, and inable them to undergoe them to his glory, and with comfort to themſelves and others; therefore labour to get and buckle on all thoſe peeces of ſpirituall armour, and to uſe them, and that with prayer; for to have this ſpirituall armour, and not to uſe it, is like *the foole* Prov. 17. 16. in the *Proverbs*, *that hath a price in his hand*, but hath not the wit, or an heart to uſe it; to have a ſword and not draw it, when his enemy aſſaults him. Yet ſo it is, that many Chriſtians who have this rich and precious armour, that is more precious then gold 2 Pet. 1. 1. (as is ſaid particularly of faith) doe for want of a right uſe of it, live uncomfortably, and carry themſelves unevenly in evill times, are well nigh overwhelmed ſometimes; therefore I beſeech you be carefull to get and uſe theſe graces and peeces of ſpirituall armour, that you may be able to ſtand, and with comfort to hold up your heads in evill dayes. That is the ſecond uſe we ſhould make of this point, to prepare for the Mount for evill and hard times.

Uſe 3. Thirdly, This point ſhould teach us not to marvell, much leſſe murmure, if great afflictions and troubles doe come, whether perſonall or Nationall. *Thinke it not ſtrange* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *concerning the fiery tryall, which is to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing happened unto you.* Though a man ſhould be brought to this exigent, That either he muſt part with his liberty, goods, repute in the world, life and all, or deny the truth, and diſobey God; yet he ſhould not thinke it ſtrange, much leſſe murmure, but cheerfully undergoe it. It is no ſtrange thing to be brought into ſtraits and troubles, to be afflicted, yea ſometimes to be brought into great extremity: It is ordinary, it hath often been ſo with the Church of God, in all ages, as well as with particular perſons, as all thoſe inſtances above mentioned, and this Nation

Nation can witneſſe by often experience, by reaſon of the many malicious deſignes of malignant and bloud-thirſty Papiſts, who of all enemies the Chriſtian Church hath, are the moſt cruell, bloudy, inhumane and barbarous, as bad or worſe then the Heathens and Pagans ever were to the *Jewes* under the old, or Chriſtians under the New Teſtament.

Therefore let not us or any wonder at it, as if a ſtrange thing happened to us, ſuch as never or rarely fals out to any, much leſſe faint under it, and murmure or repine, but with cheerfulneſſe, courage and conſtancy undergoe it.

Therefore conſider 1. That afflictions and troubles are the lot of the godly, *Pſal.* 125.3. *The rod* (*i.e.* affliction, troubles, perſecutions) *of the wicked ſhall not reſt upon the lot of the righteous, leſt the righteous put forth their hands to iniquity. In the world ye ſhall have tribulation* (ſaid our Saviour) *That no man be moved by theſe afflictions; for your ſelves know that we are appointed thereunto. All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus ſhall ſuffer perſecution*, if not of the hand, yet of the tongues of evill men, and ſometimes great ſtraits and extremities. It is the common lot of all his people. *There is no temptation hath befallen you, but ſuch as is common to man*, ſaith the Apoſtle, even the Prophets themſelves, thoſe extraordinary ſervants of God, *Abraham* Gods faithfull ſervant, friend and favourite, likewiſe *Jacob*, *Job*, *Daniel*, *David* and others. *David*, though a King, was the Song of the drunkards, and *Job* the greateſt and godlieſt man in the Eaſt, was laughed to ſcorne; *Jeremy* was had in deriſion daily: So the Apoſtles, thoſe immediate followers, and ſpeciall Embaſſadors of the Lord Jeſus, and if they ſuffered ſuch things, and were ſubject to the rage of moſt malignant and impetuous enemies, ſuch as *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Rabſhecah*, *Haman* and their adherents, ſhall we thinke it ſtrange, marvell, much leſſe murmure, if the like condition from the like enemies befall us? or if we ſuffer other grievous tryals from the hand of our wiſe and good God?

Motives not to murmure, but cheerfully undergoe afflictions and tryals, Ioh 16.33. 1 Theſ.3.3. 2 Tim.3.12. 1 Cor.10.13.

Yea the Lord Jeſus, the beloved of the Father, the firſt borne of God, the firſt borne of all his ſonnes, and the firſt borne of all creatures, the glory of the Father eſcaped not, he dranke of the cup of affliction, he tooke not a ſippe, but dranke deep (deeper then ever any of his did, not of mans ſimply, but of Gods di-

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vine wrath, not for himſelfe, but for us, not by conſtraint, but willingly. *Shall I not drinke* (ſaid he) *of the cup my Father hath given me?* He ſuffered the vials of Gods wrath, the extremity of his fury, never any ſuffering like his, and ſhould we thinke it a ſtrange thing to ſuffer? Should not the Souldiers follow their Captaine and Leader? Is it not well that we fare no worſe then our Lord and Saviour? *If the world hate you* (ſaid our Saviour) *you know it hated me, before it hated you. If yee were of the world, the world would love it's owne. Remember the word that I ſaid unto you, The Servant is not greater then the Lord, If they have perſecuted me, they will alſo perſecute you.*

Joh. 18. 11.

Lam. 1. 12.

Joh 15. 18. 19. 20.

And therefore ſeeing it is common, that the very beſt, moſt faithfull and renowned ſervants of God, and the Lord Chriſt himſelfe have ſuffered much, bin ſometimes brought to great exigents, we ſhould chearfully undergoe whatſoever evils we meet with. A common lot no man ſtrugs at; who quarrels Summer for heat, or Winter for cold, though it be ſometimes more then ordinary, ſeeing it is a common lot? who is angry, becauſe he hath as many fingers and toes, and other members, as other men have, ſeeing there is uſe of all the members, and they ſerve to make the perfection of the whole man? ſo afflictions and troubles wiſely managed, do helpe to make a man a compleat Chriſtian, *That yee may be perfect* (ſayes the Apoſtle *James*) *entire and wanting nothing*, entire for parts, not for degrees of obedience; why then ſhould any ſtrinke, much leſſe murmure at them?

Jam 1. 3, 4.

2. Conſider that afflictions and troubles come not out of the duſt, but from God: what or whoſoever be the inſtruments, yet God, a good, wiſe and gracious Father is the author of them. *Is there any evill* (viz. of puniſhment) *in the City and the Lord hath not done it?* ſaith the Prophet. *I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heale* (ſaith God) therfore this ſhould make us, not onely patient, but chearfull alſo under afflictions, as it did *Job*, when God had by the *Sabeans* and others taken away all his Cattle, a mighty Eſtate, Servants and Children, ſaith he, *Naked came I out of my mothers wombe, and naked ſhall I returne thither: The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord.* He did not cry out of misfortune or ill

Amos 3. 6 Deut. 32. 2 Chro. 7. 13, 14.

Job. 1. 21.

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luck, curſe the Divell, rayle at the *Chaldeans*, or others, but patiently receives it as from God himſelfe, and willingly ſubmits to his will, *The Lord gave*, &c. So did *David*, *I was dumbe and held my peace, becauſe thou Lord didſt it.* Pſal. 39 9.

And the Lord doth juſtly and in mercy to his.

1. Juſtly, though evill men doe what they doe againſt the godly, moſt unjuſtly againſt all right and reaſon, yet God doth it moſt juſtly. *Righteous art thou ô Lord* (ſayes *David*) *and righteous are thy judgements. The Lord is righteous in all his wayes and holy in all his workes.* For *with God is no reſpect of perſon.* Therefore we ſhould patiently beare all afflictions and troubles whatſoever, becauſe we ſuffer juſtly and moſt deſervedly, the Lord is righteous in afflicting us. Pſal. 119.137. & 145.17. Rom. 2.6,11.

2. God afflicts his people in mercy, out of love to them, and for their good, though their adverſaries doe it out of malice and rage againſt them, yet God doth it out of love and in mercy to them, that they may not periſh. Heare what *Paul* ſaith, *When we are judged, we are chaſtened of the Lord, that we ſhould not be condemned with the world.* Againe, *My ſonne, deſpiſe not thou the chaſtening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him, for he chaſteneth us for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holineſſe.* The Lord uſeth afflictions and all troubles that befall his children, as the wiſe Phyſitian doth phyſick, to cure diſeaſes, and as the Chyrurgian doth lancing, ſcarifying and plaiſters, to let out corrupt matter and heale his Patient. 1 Cor. 11.32. Heb. 12.5, &c. ver. 10.

3. Conſider the neceſſity of ſuffering and tryals, it cannot well be otherwiſe in reſpect of our condition, in reſpect of our enemies, and the place where we live.

Firſt, in reſpect of our condition, both preſent and future in Heaven,

1. In reſpect of our preſent condition. The faithfull, the godly are Souldiers, Labourers, Sowers, &c. Now conſider all theſe, and ſee if there be not a kind of neceſſity, in reſpect of their condition of meeting with troubles.

1. The true Chriſtian is a *Souldier*, and a Souldier muſt meet with ſtraits, hard ſervices ſometimes, fight hard before he gets the victory, endure blowes and dangerous wounds ſometimes,

runne through the pikes (as we ſay) before he gets the victory, ſo muſt a Chriſtian. A Chriſtians life is a warfare, and you know, it is no new thing for Souldiers, to heare the Drum beat, Trumpets ſound, the Cannons roare and Bullets fly about their Ears and Heads, and ſomtimes dangerouſly pierce their bodies; ſo it is not to be wondred at, much leſſe murmur'd at: If Satan and evill men let fly at us; if afflictions and troubles come: Therefore if we be Chriſts Souldiers, let us looke for ſuch things, make a ſure account of them, yea, and ſometimes to have them thick and three-fold like *Jobs* Meſſengers.

2. A true Chriſtian is a *Labourer*. A Labourer muſt work early and late, labour hard, undergoe much paine and travell: So the husband-man muſt not onely worke hard, but endure many a cold blaſt, many a ſtorme before he gets the crop into the Barne; ſo the godly muſt looke to undergoe many a hard ſervice, indure many a ſtorme of affliction, before he comes to the harveſt, to triumph in Heaven. This in reſpect of our preſent condition.

2. In reſpect of our future condition. Heaven is a time of reſt, of triumph, and reaping a harveſt: Now reſt is after motion, and there can be no triumph before victory, and no victory with ſitting ſtil, without blowes, Before a man can reape he muſt endure a great deale of labour, wet and dry, heat and cold, hunger and thirſt: a husbandmans life is a laborious and painfull life; and ſo it muſt be with the true Chriſtian before he comes to tryumph and reape the fruits of a ſound profeſſion, and a wel-led life in Heaven. Thus in reſpect of our condition both preſent and future.

Quies eſt finis motus.

Secondly, in reſpect of our enemies, it cannot bee otherwiſe.

1 Pet. 5. 8. 1. The *Divell* a moſt implacable enemy, *who continually goeth about like a roaring Lyon, ſeeking whom he may devoure*, by all wayes and meanes, and at all times, ſeeking to marre our peace, imbitter our lives, yea, to deſtroy our ſoules.

2. Wicked men have a moſt invenomed nature (all of them) againſt godlineſſe and an inveterate enmity againſt the righteous

righteous, though they doe not alwayes equally ſhew it; God reſtraines them all more or leſſe, for the good of his people, there ſhould otherwiſe be no living for the righteous upon the earth among evill men: and of all Sects and Religions, none are more cruell and blood-thirſty then the Papiſts are, eſpecially the Prieſts and Jeſuites, and therefore it cannot be expected, but that the godly ſhould meet with troubles in this world, in reſpect of our malignant enemies, even all the troubles they can procure.

Thirdly, In reſpect of the place where wee live, likened to a Wilderneſſe, to a Sea. As it was with *Iſrael* when they went out of *Ægypt* to *Canaan*, they went through the Wilderneſſe: So muſt the faithfull *Iſrael* of God doe now, to goe to Heaven, paſſe through the Wilderneſſe of this world. Now in a Wilderneſſe there are Bryars and Thornes, Wolves, Beares, Lyons, Serpents, *&c.* and it is not ſtrange for the honeſt Traveller to meet with ſuch creatures there; even ſo the godly meet with ſuch kind of men in this world, who are ever and anon ready to vex, trouble and devoure them. *David* ſaith, *My ſoule dwelleth among Lyons.* Wicked men are in the ſacred Scriptures, likened to, and called Lyons, Doggs, Wolves, Vipers, Serpents and almoſt all manner of ſavage beaſts, becauſe they have the like evill diſpoſitions, and doe like actions, and the godly are compared to Lambes, Doves, Sheepe, and other ſuch like harmleſſe, profitable creatures, no marvell then, if the godly be aſſaulted and put hard to it many times by evill men. Pſ. 57. 4. & 22. 21.

The world is alſo likened to a Sea, and we ſayle (as it were) in the barke of our fraile bodies, now what is more uſuall then to have windes and ſtormes at Sea? to be toſſed to and fro, to meet with foule weather? to heare the waves roare and rage and daſh into the ſhip, alſo ſometimes to light on the rocks, yea, to ſuffer ſhipwrack on the rocks and dangerous ſands? So if (as we ſayle in the barke of our fraile bodie towards Heaven) the windes blow, and ſtormes ariſe, ready to ſinke our ſhip or ſplit her on the reckes, is it any new or ſtrange thing that wee ſhould be much moved at it? It is therefore a point of wiſedome to prepare for, and patiently undergoe what can-

cannot be avoided; many Heathens have on this conſideration undergone much, and why ſhould not Chriſtians much more make a vertue of neceſſity?

4. Conſider the nature of theſe troubles, they are light and ſhort.

2 Cor. 4 17. 1. *Light*, Take them at the worſt they are but light afflictions, ἐλαφρὸν, light in compariſon of what we deſerve, and what our Saviour ſuffer'd for us, and what wicked men muſt for ever ſuffer in hell; and light alſo in that they doe but touch the body, they cannot properly pierce into the ſoule, ſo as to deſtroy it, they hurt but the outward man, and wound that at moſt and worſt they can doe, they may annoy, yet they doe not deſtroy the ſoule, prejudice it's eternall welfare; but wicked mens troubles many times wound the ſoule, pierce into the very ſoule, and deſtroy that, and though they be free from bodily troubles, yet they have crazy conſciences which ſometimes wound them ſore, and *a wounded ſpirit who can beare?* or *what can it beare*, as the Originall hath it. So long as the ſpirit is ſound, conſcience cleare and good, it will ſuſtaine it's infirmity, *i. e.* whatſoever outward trouble may befall; as a ſound ſhoulder will beare a great weight with eaſe and pleaſure, whereas a broken, bruiſed or diſjointed ſhoulder, will cry out and ſhrinke under every little thing. *All the daies of the afflicted are evill, but he that is of a merry heart, hath a continuall Feaſt.* A cleare and ſound conſcience is as a Feaſt in the middeſt of all outward troubles, yea, and better then a Feaſt for it is continuall.

Rom. 8. 28. Pro. 18. 14.

The truth is, it is guiltineſſe of conſcience that makes afflictions heavy; to a ſound and good conſcience great afflictions and tryals many times ſeeme as nothing, and are undergone with a great deale of cheerfulneſſe and courage, but when God plagues a wicked man, if conſcience be not ſeared or aſleep, or benummed he hath a double burden to beare, the weight of affliction and a guilty conſcience, which is moſt grievous.

Pſ 125. 3. 2. As they are *Light*, ſo alſo *ſhort* and *momentary*. *The rod of the wicked ſhall not reſt on the lot of the righteous.* *This light affliction* (ſaies the Apoſtle, which place alſo clearly proves the former branch) *which is but for a moment.* The originall differs

lets some thing in words from out translation, but nothing from the true sense and meaning. *For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee*, saith the Lord to *Israel* The troubles of the godly are indeed θλίψεις, *sufferings*, yet they are but τὰ νῦν καιρὸν, *the sufferings of this present time*, saith the Apostle to the *Romans*. 2 Cor 4 17 τὸ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν. Isa 54 7. Rom. 8. 18.

So that these afflictions, though they may be sharpe, yet they are but short, and if they continue to the uttermost they possibly can doe, it is but till death, they end with death. *There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest: there the prisoners rest together, they heare not the voyce of the Oppressour: The small and the great are there, and the Servant is free from his Master*, said *Job* long agoe. Death though it doe indeed begin the wicked mans misery, yet it puts an end to all the godly mans suffering, they end with his life and doe increase his glory, makes Heaven more sweet and welcome. Our bodies are but earthly Tabernacles, now a Tabernacle if generally, yet it cannot last long, but if furious windes and stormes blow, it will quickly fall, and so it is with our bodies. The afflictions and troubles of this world are visible, seene on the body, estate, &c. therefore not to be regarded, because temporall, *but the things which are not seene are eternall*. Therefore saith the Apostle, *Let them that weepe, be as though they wept not*, but things that are invisible are to be regarded, and seriously thought on, the wrath of God, the pains of hell; so Heaven, life and glory are eternall, these we should much thinke of, and labour to live accordingly. Job 3.17,18, 19. 2 Cor. 4 18. 1 Cor. 7.30.

5. Consider this also, that it is a great honour to suffer for righteousnesse, to be singled out to be the Lords Champion, to shew forth Gods wisdome, power and goodnesse in his servants. All the Saints have not the honour, to be singled out with *Abraham*, that the world may see the truth and strength of their faith, patience, love to God, &c. *To beare the markes of the Lord Jesus* is a singular priviledge: the Apostle himselfe boasts of it, as a speciall honour to him, Gal. 6. *To you it is given in the behalfe of Christ, not onely to beleeve on him, but also to suffer for his sake*, saith *Paul*. All his people are tryed and suffer more or less, but not very many are singled out to be the Lords champions Gal 6 17.

pions, as was *Abraham*, *Iob*, the Martyrs and ſome others; therefore the Apoſtles (though uſed as rogues, whipped) *Went away from the counſell, reioycing that they were worthy to ſuffer ſhame for his Name*, not becauſe they were worthy to ſuffer, but becauſe (marke it) they were *counted* worthy to ſuffer —— It was a great honour for them to ſuffer for the Lord Jeſus, and in his cauſe: It is an honour to God, they honour him by ſuffering in his cauſe, and for his ſake, and they that honour him, he will honour, and have others honour them. *Receive him therefore in the Lord with all gladneſſe* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and have ſuch in reputation*, the reaſon, *becauſe for the worke of Christ, he was neare unto death.*

Act. 5. 4.

1 Sam 2. 30
Phil. 2. 29, 30.

So God will honour them hereafter, *If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall alſo be glorified with him. They ſhall walke with me in white* (ſaith Chriſt) *for they are worthy. They ſhall have long white roabes given them*, i.e. an honourable name (as ſome doe expound it) and not amiſſe: So that God hath his ſpeciall honour and dignity for ſuch. Here *Abrahams* faith and obedience is recorded to his everlaſting praiſe. Therefore our Saviour pronounceth ſuch bleſſed: *Bleſſed are you when men ſhall hate you, and when they ſhall ſeparate you from their company, and ſhall reproach you and perſecute you, and ſhall ſay all manner of evill againſt you falſly, for my Name ſake; Reioyce and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven.*

Rom. 8. 17.
Rev. 3. 4. & 6. 11.

Luk 6 22, 23.
Mat. 5. 11, 12.

Laſtly by way of *motive*, conſider the bleſſed fruit and iſſue of all afflictions, troubles and tryals to the godly, here and hereafter, how great and grievous ſoever they be for the preſent.

1. All ſufferings and tryals make way for a greater good, to humble his people, make them more fit for mercy, to manifeſt their ſincerity, and the ſtrength of their graces to themſelves and the world, to increaſe and brighten their graces, and conſequently their comforts, to purge out ſinne and corruption, and make them more pure and precious like the refined gold, to wean them from the world, make them more heavenly minded, &c.

Iob 23. 10.

Alſo the afflictions and troubles of the Church (as now in *Germany*, in *Ireland*, and in *England*) tend to fit them for greater mercy,

mercy, for Chriſts government and Ordinances in a more excellent manner (I truſt) then ever we yet enjoyed them, alſo to purge and cleanſe his Church. I dare confidently affirme it, That *Reformation* ſhould never have been raiſed up to that bleſſed and deſired hight (which in all probability, it is likely through Gods goodneſſe to come unto) had not the malignant enemies of the Church, the Papiſts, and the Prelates, and popiſh Party their Abettors, been ſo buſie againſt the Church, Chriſts people, Ordinances and power of godlineſſe, as they have been and daily are. Bleſſed be God that doth and will bring good out of evill, light out of darkneſſe, and turnes the counſels of *Achitophels* into fooliſhneſſe, and miſchievous plots of wicked *Hamans*, to their own hurt and his peoples good, and makes the rage of men turne to his glory. This beleeve, wait, pray and praiſe God for.

2. The troubles and tryals of the faithfull will likewiſe make much for our future good, both in point of honour (as hath bin ſhewed) and of benefit it will bring glory, eſpecially ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake, and the truths ſake. *If we ſuffer with him* (ſayes the Apoſtle) *we ſhall alſo be glorified with him.* Againe, *This light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternall weight of glory.* The affliction is but ſhort and light, but the reward is exceeding great and laſting, no leſſe then glory, which is the higheſt pitch of all honour and felicity. Here is glory, and more, a *weight of glory*, and if there were but an equall weight of glory to ſuffering, the difference would be exceeding great, ſeeing as one dram of gold is more worth then many pounds of lead: ſo here, where there is (if I may ſo ſay) a pound of glory for a pound of ſuffering; yea exceeding much more (marke the words) *a far more exceeding weight of glory* (the Originall is) exceeding full and expreſſive, and which maketh all compleate, *it is eternall.*

Rom. 8. 17. 2 Tim. 2. 18. 2 Cor. 4. 17.

4

Καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰωνιον βάρος δόξης, excellenter excellentis gloriæ Pandu. Beza.

This was it that did encourage the Martyrs moſt willingly to goe to the priſon, to the ſtake, the Chriſtians to cry out to the perſecutors of their brethren, when they carried them to the priſon, to the ſtake, and places of ſuffering, *Sum & ego Chriſtianus*, I alſo am a Chriſtian, even longing to ſuffer with them, and ſome have wept much, becauſe through a miſtake, they have been ſent backe againe from the ſtake to the priſon, or kept from

ſuffering. *We glory in tribulation*, ſayes the Apoſtle. This was it
Rom. 5. 3. that made *Moſes when he came to yeares, refuſed to be called the ſon*
Heb. 11. 24, 25, 26. *of* Pharaohs *daughter, chuſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, then to enioy the pleaſures of ſinne for a ſeaſon; eſteeming the reproach of Chriſt greater riches then the treaſures of* Egypt,
—— 10. 34. and the faithfull *ſuffered the ſpoyling of their goods with ioy.*
—— 12. 2. And the Lord Chriſt himſelfe, *for the ioy that was ſet before him, endured the croſſe, and deſpiſed the ſhame.* Let us conſider thoſe things to ſtay our hearts, make us patient, and with cheerfulneſſe and courage to hold up our heads in the evill day.

All which may afford comfort to the *people of God* (it is the Scripture phraſe) *Heb.* 11. 25. in the midſt of all their ſufferings, when they conſider the bleſſed ends, fruits and effects of afflictions and tryals ſanctified (as they are to all the faithfull) ſo farre are afflictions and ſufferings, even the moſt grievous tryals, from being a ſigne of Gods wrath, and an Argument that they are none of his, becauſe they ſuffer ſuch things, that it is rather an Argument of Gods ſpeciall favour and love towards them: It was ſo with *Abraham* here, *Jacob*, *Job*, *David*, *Paul* and others, and with the Church of God in *Egypt*, in the Wilderneſſe, in the land of *Canaan*, in the time of the Judges and of the Kings, notwithſtanding all their ſufferings, yet were they ſtill Gods peculiar people; and ſo it was with the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians, and ſo along up hitherto: Yea *this very thing* to have bitter adverſaries for righteouſneſſe ſake, and Religion ſake, and to have troubles and tryals in the world, is an evident Argument of Gods ſpeciall favour to ſuch. *Be in nothing terrified by your ad-*
Phil. 1. 28. *verſaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of ſalvation.* That the ſpirit and rage of Devils and wicked men, is bent againſt none ſo much, as againſt the Church and godly in
Luk. 21. 12, 13. it, and moſt againſt the moſt eminent of them, *They ſhall lay their hands on you* (ſaid our Saviour to his Apoſtles) *and they ſhall perſecute you, delivering you up into the Synagogues, and into pri-*
Joh. 15. 19. *ſons*, &c. *If you were of the world, the World would love it's owne; but becauſe ye are not of the World, but I have choſen you out of the world, therefore the World hateth you.*

There is a great controverſie betweon us and *Rome*, whether theirs

theirs or ours be the true Church of Christ, and they or we the true Christians; therefore they produce a great Catalogue of Catholiques (as they would be called) Kings, Princes, and others of note, that have wonderfully flourished, victoriously warred, and in their battels become victorious Conquerours. *Bellarmine* shewes how *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Joshuah*, and so along to the *Macchabees*, that very many that feared God were victorious and prosperous. And thence he goes to Ecclesiasticall stories, and all to prove that prosperity and outward felicity is a note of the true Church; and indeed, so it may be of the true malignant Church, not of the true Church simply, so called, not of the Church of Christ. It may be answered, That many very wicked men have warred victoriously, and prospered, as did *Saul*, *Ahab*, *Senacherib*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and others: This is (as *Salomon* speaks) to answer a foole according to his folly. 2. Nothing is more apparant then this, That the true Church of God, both Jewes and Christians, have often been put to the worse, and grievously afflicted by the Pagans and Heathens, That the most renowned servants of God have suffered great things, been brought to grievous exigents divers times, as *Abraham*, *Job*, *David*, &c. and yet were the deare servants and children of God, the dearly beloved of his soule: *God scourgeth every sonne whom he receiveth, and lets none goe without afflictions but bastards.* The Scripture runs much upon this, to shew that prosperity is a note of the wicked, and afflictions a note of the godly; Wherefore comfort your selves with these things.

Vitiva Ecclesiæ nota est felicitas temporalis. Bel. de notis Eccles.

Heb. 12. 5. &c.

Fifthly and lastly, Seeing we are here subject to troubles, even the most grievous, to be brought into the Mount, into extremities, this should make us to thirst and long after Heaven, to set our hearts upon, long after, and labour for that happinesse and security of the Church in Heaven, where there is no trouble, no enemy that can approach or doe any hurt, neither man nor Devill; where there shall be no *more any grieving thorne, or pricking bryar*, yea, where sinne shall be no more. Here the godly are subject to afflictions and troubles, even the most grievous, to the rage of malignant and mighty enemies, proud, insolent adversaries, suffer many things from their tongues, that are set on fire from Hell, are full of poison, and are as sharp swords; and from

Use 5.

their hands alſo, whoſe fingers itch at the righteous, are brought ſometimes into great ſtraits and exigents, even to the utmoſt extremity, that if God ſet not in, they are gone and periſh, or are undone in the world, all outward comforts are loſt, beſide the inward troubles and perplexities of conſcience many times: But there all enemies ſhall be far off, all evils removed, all teares wiped from the Saints eyes, all cauſe of ſorrow done away, yea ſinne it ſelfe ſhall be utterly abolliſhed, there ſhall be an abſolute freedome from all evils both of ſinne and punishment, and all feares of evill, with a bleſſed fruition of Gods face and glorious preſence, with full delight for evermore. And therefore it is called, *The triumphant Church*, becauſe the Saints ſhall triumph over all enemies and evils. This ſhould make us to long and labour after Heaven, with *Paul*, *willing to be diſſolved, and be with Chriſt, which is beſt of all*, when divine providence ſhall ſee good and call for us, to ſay with *David* in his abſence from the place of Gods ſpeciall preſence, *When ſhall I come and appeare before God?* and with them under the Altar, *How long Lord, holy and true,* and with the Church, *Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly!* And here I deſire to leave you awhile in your moſt ſerious thoughts, longing deſires, and labouring after Heaven, where there is fulneſſe of joy in the preſence of God, and pleaſures for evermore.

Phil. 1 21.
Pſal. 42. 2.
Rev. 22. 20.
Pſal. 16. 11.

Uſe 5. And thus much on that firſt point or obſervation (which is much more then I at firſt intended, but the worke in the doing multiplyed under my hand, like the widowes oyle) now through the goodneſſe of God, I come to the ſecond Propoſition or Point obſerved (of which, as alſo of the third, more briefly) that I ſeem not to be too long on this Subject,

Doct. 2. *That God will be ſeen in the Mount, He will help and deliver his people in their extremities and troubles.*

In this point before I come to application, take notice of theſe 3. things:

1. The truth of the point, *That God will help and deliver his people in their extremities.*
2. How he uſually doth it, by what wayes and meanes. And
3. Why he will doe ſo.

1. *That God will be ſeen in the Mount.* God doth help and deliver

liver his people in their extremities, though the Text be most cleare and full, yet see it made good in a few instances instead of many.

1. Of particular persons, Therefore call to mind Gods great mercy to *Abraham* here, when it was come to the very last minute of time; to *Jacob*, when his brother *Esau* was come even to him with 400. men in a posture of warre; to *Lot*, when he was taken and carryed away prisoner by the Kings; to *David* when encompassed by *Saul* and his men in the Wildernesse of *Maon*; to *Jonas*, after he had been three dayes and three nights in the Whales belly; so he delivered *Mordecai*, the very same day he should have been hanged by wicked *Haman*; the three children out of the fiery furnace, and *Daniel* out of the Lyons den; *Peter* the very night before hee should have beene brought out to the people, to be condemned and executed. Gen. 32. 3. 6. & 33. 1. 14. 11, 13, 14. 1 Sa. 23. 26, 27. Jonah 2. 1, 10. Hest 6. 2, 4, 10. Dan. 3 & 6. Act. 12.

2. Of delivering the whole Church or great multitudes of his people together. We read of Gods delivering *Israel* out of *Ægypt* in the height of their misery, with a mighty hand. Againe, at the red Sea, when they were in a mighty strait, bringing them through the red Sea, relieving them extraordinarily in the Wildernesse, when in great want of bread, flesh and water: [c] In the time of the *Judges*, and in the dayes of [d] *Asa*, [e] *Abijah*, [f] *Jehoshaphat*, and in [g] *Hesters* dayes. Many more Examples to this purpose may be given, but these may suffice. This is the first, *That God doth helpe and deliver his people, God is seene in the Mount.* Now Exod. 6. 7 & 7. 45. 13. 3. 14. 10. Jud. 16. 2, 12. d 2 Chr. 14. 6. 11 e — 13. 13. f — 20. 12. g Hest. 3. 12. & 7. 5.

Secondly, How God is seene in the Mount, how he shewes himselfe in their extremities, and that is two wayes,

1. In supporting them in the Mount. And
2. In delivering them out of the Mount.

1. God is seene in supporting his people in their troubles and extremities, they sinke not under them, but hold up their heads and resolve to cleave unto him and wait upon him, as he did *Iob* who resolved, *Though the Lord slay me, yet will I trust in him.* *The Lord upholdeth the righteous, though he fall* (viz. into great temptations and troubles) *he shall not be utterly cast downe, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.* Even in spirituall desertions Iob 13. 15. Ps 37. 17, 24.

tions there is ſtill a ſecret hand of God which doth uphold them, that they doe not wickedly depart from him, nor frowardly behave themſelves in his Covenant; but there is ſtill a generall recumbency and relying upon God, till he have mercy upon them and deliver them: And ſometimes the Lord fils their hearts fulleſt of inward comfort, when their outward condition is moſt grievous, as was to be ſeene in the Martyrs.

2. God is ſeene in the Mount of extremity in delivering his people out of their troubles and ſtraits, and that divers wayes, I ſhall mention the moſt and principall of them, and they are theſe,

1. By weakening ſtrong means againſt his Church or people God delivers them and that eſpecially 5. wayes.

1. By ſtriking ſuddain feares and dreadfull apprehenſions into them, like that into the *Canaanites*, *The terrour of you is fallen upon us* (ſaid *Rahab*) *and the Inhabitants of the Land faint because of you. Aſſoone as we heard of theſe things, our hearts did melt, neither did there remaine any more courage in any man, becauſe of you.* So the *Midianites* by a caſuall dreame of one of their company, were ſo frighted, that though an innumerable Army, yet they were not able to ſtand before 300. unarmed men. So the *Moabites* were ſtrangely overcome and *Iſrael* delivered from their deſignes, by reaſon of the ſeeming colour of blood on the water, occaſioned by the reflection of the Sunne beames ſhining upon it. And thus he dealt with the Duke of *Ireland* and his Army, when with the forces raiſed in *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire* and *Wales*, he came up towards *London* againſt the Parliament, their great ſpirits were ſo benummed, diſcouraged and amazed at the ſight of the *Appellants* Army, that when they ſhould give the aſſault, (God not ſuffering the effuſion of blood) they ſtood ſtill making no ſhew of reſiſting, but without any fighting flung downe their armes, and yeelded themſelves to the mercy of the *Lords Appellant*. This is one way.

Joſh 2.9.11.

Jud.7.13,17.

2 Kin.3.22,23.

Relation of the Parl. begun at *Weſtmin.* 1386 p.17.

Secondly, God ſometimes weakens the Adverſaries power, and delivers his people, by ſpoyling them of their inſtruments, which are very helpefull to them: So God tooke off the wheeles of *Pharaohs* Chariots, and made them drive heavily, ſo that they could not follow after *Iſrael* to hurt them.

Exod. 14.25.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, ſometimes by infatuating them and their counſels (a grievous judgement and ſad ſigne of their deſtruction approaching, when God ſmites men in their wits.) So he dealt with *Pharaoh* king of *Ægypt*. *The Princes of* Zoan *are become fooles, the counſell of the wiſe Counſellours of* Pharaoh *is become brutiſh; how ſay you unto* Pharaoh *? I am the ſonne of the wiſe, the ſonne of ancient Kings. The Princes of* Zoan *are become fooles, the Princes of* Noph *are deceived, they have alſo ſeduced* Ægypt, *even they that are* (*i.e.*ſhould be) *the ſtay of the Tribes thereof.* They told him a faire tale, and ſo miſerably deluded him to the deſtruction of *Ægypt*. So God turned *Ahitophels* politick counſell (that would have been very prejudiciall to *David* and his men) into fooliſhneſſe, and *Abſalom* to reject it, and follow the counſell of *Huſhai* to his owne deſtruction. And *Rehoboam* to follow the adviſe of the young men, that were brought up with him, and to reject the counſell of the grave men, to his owne great dammage and diſhonour. Thus God ſometimes by infatuating the counſels of the Adverſaries of his people, and ſmiting them in their wits, doth diſable them to purſue their deſignes againſt his people, and ſo delivers them as *David* from *Abſalom*, and petitioning *Iſrael* from *Rehoboams* intended cruelty, and ſo make their owne counſels and deſignes their own over-throw and fall, and the riſe of his people.

Isa. 19.11,13.

2 Sam 17.7,14

2 Chro. 10.

Fourthly, ſometimes by taking away from the enemies of the Church, part of their ſtrength in which they truſt, as he did from *Rehoboam*, by rending ten Tribes, the farre greater part of his Dominion from him, when he would not be diſſwaded from going on to oppreſſe his petitioning Subjects.

2 Chr. 10.13.

Fifthly, ſometimes by reſtraining their malice, when it comes to the upſhot, and turning their hearts towards his people, and enclining them to peace; as when *Eſau* came againſt *Iacob* with 400. men, God over-power'd his ſpirit, and turned his heart to his brother *Iacob*, *That* Jacob *ſaw his face, as the face of an Angell of God*. So he did reſtraine *Laban* and enclined him to peace, that he had not an evill word to ſay againſt *Iacob*, when he over-tooke him. And this is the firſt way by which God doth deliver his people, namely, by weakening ſtrong

Gen. 32.6. with 33.4,10.

---31.24,29.

ſtrong meanes againſt them, that the Adverſaries cannot or will not hurt them. Thus the Lord hath the hearts, even *of Kings in his hands, and turnes them as the rivers of waters, whitherſoever he pleaſeth.*

Prov 21.1.

Firſt, by putting courage and ſtrength into his people, making the weake and feeble ſtrong, and the faint-hearted valiant. So he did [a] *Saul* to deliver *Iſrael* out of the hands of the *Philiſtines*, [b] *Jonathan* to ſlay many of them, and route their army [c] *Abiah*, and the men of *Judah* to ſlay 500000. of their enemies, [d] *Aſa* and his men to deſtroy and route *Zerah* the Æthyopian, with an army of a thouſand thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. So he put a * ſpirit of valour and magnanimity into the *Waldenſes*, to defend themſelves and the true Religion againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, that ſought to ſuppreſſe and root out the Proteſtant Religion, to doe wonderfully, even to admiration. Likewiſe into the Proteſtants in *France*, to defend themſelves and Religion againſt them that would deſtroy both. Likewiſe into the Appellants, The Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwicke* in the raigne of King *Richard* the ſecond, to preſerve the King and Kingdome, and ſubdue the Conſpirators, the Duke of *Ireland* and others, that perſwaded the King to deſert his Parliament, and to ſend to the King of *France* for counſell and help againſt his Parliament, and to raiſe forces to deſtroy the loyall and faithfull members of it, that ſought the good of the King and Kingdome, and ſo by Gods bleſſing preſerved both King and Kingdome. So he hath put exceeding much courage and valour into the ſouldiers in *Ireland*, to doe very great things againſt the Rebels there, and obtaine wonderfull victories almoſt incredible.

a 1 Sam. 11. 4, 5, 6.
b Cap. 14. v. 6.
c 2 Chron 13. 14, 15, 16, 17.
d 14. 9.
Acts and Monuments, p. 207 col 1. & 208. col 1 1 70.
* Relation of the Parliament begun at *Weſtminſter*, Anno 1386. p 451. 7. & 12.

Secondly, Sometimes the Lord ſends his people, wholly by unexpected wayes, which they thought not of, whereby they become victorious over their enemies, and free themſelves from them. So God raiſed up deliverance to his people in *Zachary*, when there were 4. *hornes*, that is, enemies of the Church on all ſides, that ſtood up to ſcatter his people *Iſrael*, *Judah*, and *Jeruſalem*: The Lord ſhewed the Prophet 4 *Carpenters*, *i.e.* the Babylonians and Grecians, whom God had raiſed up, as his inſtruments, to help his people, and breake the hornes of the enemies againſt

againſt them. Here comes help by a way altogether unexpected, which his people never ſo much as thought of.

3. The Lord ſomtimes delivers his people by diſcovering the enemies plots and deſignes againſt them, before they take effect, though never ſo cloſely contrived, and ſecretly carried, and a plot timely diſcovered is prevented, and fals to nothing, but to the hurt of the plotters. *Thus God ſaved Iſrael, not once or twice*, by diſcovering the counſels and deſignes of the King of *Syria* againſt them: The Jewes, by diſcovering the bloudy plot of *Haman* againſt them: The Jewes plot againſt *Saul*, to kill him in the way: So God hath ſaved this Kingdome, not once nor twice, but many times, from eminent dangers, eſpecially from the Spaniſh Navy in 88. the Gun-powder Treaſon in 605, a few houres before it ſhould have taken effect, and from many deſtructive counſels and deſignes within theſe few yeares laſt paſt, which are freſh in every mans memory, mercies never to be forgotten, or thought of, without a thankfull remembrance of them: Yea, as one well obſerveth, God hath promiſed, that rather then the rage of men ſhall take place to his diſhonour, *a bird of the ayre ſhall carry the voyce, and that which hath wings ſhall tell the matter.*

2 Kin. 6. 8. &c. Heſt 4. 1. Act. 23. 12. Eccleſ. 10. 20.

4. Sometimes God delivers his people by diverting the enemies power another way. So when *Saul* came againſt *David*, and had almoſt compaſſed him about, and taken him and his men in the wilderneſſe of *Maon*, a ſudden unexpected invaſion of the *Philiſtines*, inforced *Saul* to retire, and turne his forces againſt the *Philiſtines*. So when *Senacherib* intended in a mighty rage to fall upon *Hezekiah* and *Judah*, he was conſtrained to bend his forces againſt *Tirhakah*. And thus God turnes the power even of the greateſt enemies, whitherſoever he will: as a man may turne a ſhip at his pleaſure by the rudder, a very ſmall thing, and ſo he doth other creatures alſo, reſtraining not only their voluntary, but even their naturall actions at his pleaſure, as the fire from burning the 3. children, and the Lyons from devouring *Daniel*.

1 Sam. 23. 26, 27. 2 King. 19. 1. cg 10. Dan. 3. 27. C. 6. 22, 24.

5. By deſtroying the enemies of his people, and that three wayes.

1. Sometimes immediately by his owne hand, or ſome extra-

ordinary way. So he deſtroyed one hundred eighty five thouſand of the *Aſſyrians* by an Angell, when they came againſt *Hezekiah*, *Judah*, and *Jeruſalem*. For particular perſons, divers deliverances of this kind are noted in Maſter *Fox* his book of Acts and Monuments, God ſtrangely by ſudden death, ſtrange diſeaſes, &c. takes away their moſt cruell perſecutors, and ſo delivers his ſervants that feare his name, from them that are too mighty for them.

2. Sometimes by ſetting others againſt them, men and other creatures: *Men*, as the *Perſians* againſt *Julian*, when he was reſolved to deſtroy all the Chriſtians, *Saul* to kill the *Philiſtims*, and ſo ſaved *David*, and brought him to the Kingdome.

Iudg. 5. 20, 21. Exod. 9. 25. & 14. 19. 27. Cap. 8, 9, 10. And *other creatures*, as the Starres fought againſt *Siſera*, the River *Kiſhon* ſwept away his men, the haile to deſtroy the enemies, the water to drowne them, as he did the *Egyptians*; beſide other creatures, as Frogs, Flies, Lice, the Locuſts, &c. which did mightily hamper and confound that proud King *Pharaoh*, and his Princes, and whole Kingdome. Thus the Lord hath all the creatures in the world at his command, to deſtroy his and his Churches enemies, and can make the moſt contemptible of them, to confound and deſtroy the greateſt Princes, as the lice did one of the *Herods*, and the wormes another of that name.

Act. 12. 23.

3. Sometimes by cauſing diviſion among the enemies themſelves, and ſetting their ſwords one againſt another. So the Lord delivered his people by deſtroying the *Midianites* and *Amalekites*, the Lord ſet every mans ſword againſt his fellow, throughout all the Hoſt. Thus alſo the Lord dealt with the enemy that came againſt *Judah*, in *Jehoſaphats* dayes, one deſtroyed another, *The children of* Ammon *and* Moab *ſtood up againſt the inhabitants of* Mount Seir, *utterly to ſlay and deſtroy them, and when they had made an end of the inhabitants of* Seir, *every one helped to deſtroy another.*

Iudg. 7. 23.

2 Chr. 20. 22, 23

Thus in the generall here, God is ſeen in the Mount, and by what wayes and meanes he ſhewes himſelfe, and delivers his people chiefly from publike enemies; for to ſpeake how God delivers his people, from particular ſtraites and exigents, would be endleſſe, becauſe the kinds of troubles, and extremities of his people

ple are very many. And this is the ſecond.

Now thirdly, the reaſons why the Lord will doe ſo, and they are theſe:

Reaſons. 1. God lets the enemies of his Church goe on, in their wicked wayes, againſt his people to the height, almoſt to the very utmoſt, till they are ready to ſtrike the fatall ſtroake, that they may fill up the meaſure of their ſinnes, and ſo his juſtice may be more cleare and remarkeable in their deſtruction. So God dealt with *Pharaoh*, he did not deſtroy him at the firſt, when he ſlew and drowned the *Iſraelites* children, nor at his firſt refuſall to let *Iſrael* goe, as he might juſtly have done; but lets him goe on ſo long, that his obſtinacy & rebellion againſt him, was ſo manifeſt, that all the world could not but ſay, yea, and *Pharaoh* himſelfe confeſſe, *That the Lord was righteous and he and his people were wicked.* Exod 9.27. And for this reaſon God did not preſently deſtroy the *Canaanites*, and ſettle his people in that good land, which he had promiſed them, but tarried till the iniquity of the Amorites was full, that his juſtice in their deſtruction might be more apparent to all the world.

2. *God will be ſeen in the Mount*, and deliver his people in their extremities, to manifeſt his glorious Attributes of knowledge, power, truth, faithfulneſſe and goodneſſe.

1. For the glory of his omniſcience. In *Ezekiels* viſion at *Chebar, the living creatures had wheeles, and the wheeles had foure faces, and the rings of the wheeles were full of eyes round about them*, was a type ſignifying the al-ſeeing eye of God, that ſees and takes notice of all things, eſpecially of his owne people. *The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous.* He is therefore called *the Shepheard of Iſrael, and the Keeper of Iſrael, that doth neither ſlumber nor ſleep*; When his ſheep (the people of *Iſrael*) are among the wolves (the enemies of the Church) he doth ſee and watch them, as well, yea, better then any ſhepheard can overſee his flocke: For 1. a ſhepheard may looke well to his flocke, but cannot at all times, he muſt have ſome times to reſt and ſleep himſelfe, but God doth neither ſleep nor ſlumber, he hath ever a waking eye upon his. 2. A ſhepheard cannot ſee all his flocke in all places at once, but God overſees all, as well them afar off, as them near home, whatſoever they be in the vallies, or in the

Ezek. 1.18.

Pſal. 34.15. 80.1. 121.3,4.

mountaines, he is the God of both, though the blaſphemous *Syrians* ſaid otherwiſe. Now that God can, and doth manifeſt his al-ſeeing eye over his people for good, every where, in all places and parts of the world at once, and takes notice of their condition, and of their enemies, to deliver his people, and plague their enemies, in the fitteſt time, doth worke much for his glory.

2. His Almighty power is marvellouſly ſeen, and made glorious, by plucking the prey out of the mouth of the Lyon, even of the moſt mighty adverſaries of his people, when they thinke themſelves moſt ſure, as *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, and *Judah* out of *Babylon*, which was as dry bones. *Sonne of man* (ſaid God to *Ezekiel* in the viſion) *can theſe bones live? O Lord God* (ſaid the Prophet) *thou knoweſt*, I cannot ſee how it can be ſo, but thou art omniſcient and almighty *thou knoweſt*: *God* bade him propheſie, and he did ſo, and the bones came together every one to his place, ſtood up and lived, and became a mighty great army When this is done to dry bones, very dry bones, ſcattered bones, *i.e.* to the houſe of *Iſrael*, the Church of God, which were brought into ſo low a condition, that they ſaid, *Our bones are dried, our hope is loſt, We are cut off from our parts*: It ſhewes there is an al-ſeeing and an almighty God, that they may ſee and give him the glory of his omniſcience, and of his almighty power. So his power was wonderfully ſeen in reſtoring *Hezekiah* againe, and raiſing up *Lazarus* foure dayes dead, *Jairus* daughter, *Dorcas* and others, and delivering his people, when it is come to ſuch a dead lift that no creature can.

Ezek. 37. 3, 4.

Ver 11.

3. For the manifeſtation of his truth and faithfulneſſe he hath promiſed his people to heare their prayers, and deliver them: *Call upon me* (ſaith God) *in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt glorifie me*, and he is faithfull and true, abundant in truth. *Now if the Lord* will help and make good his promiſe, he muſt then doe it, or not at all, and ſo breake his promiſe, and faile them that truſt in him. One man will not faile another, that truſteth in him, for that were treachery ſo to doe, much leſſe will God faile his people that truſt in him; and therefore he will then help and deliver them, God promiſeth *to be ſeen in the Mount*: Now if he bring them into the Mount, to the very top,

Pſal. 50. 15.

top, and doe not there ſhew himſelfe in due time to their comfort, then he will faile them, and breake his promiſe, which is impoſſible.

4. His glorious wiſedome, goodneſſe, providence, and care over his people (put them altogether) is manifeſted in this, That he hath wayes and meanes, and can and doth provide for his people, and deliver them, when all meanes faile in humane reaſon: As in providing Manna and Quailes, and water for *Iſrael* in their wants, plenty of food in the famine of *Samaria*, relieving *Sampſon* when he was ready to periſh with thirſt, feeding *Eliah*, lengthening the Widowes meale, and increaſing the oyle in the cruſe: In all which, and the like, his wiſedome, care, and provident goodneſſe is ſeen, as well as his power, and eſpecially in reſtoring loſt man, fallen in *Adam*, by a moſt myſterious and unſearchable way, in reſpect of many things in it, that the very Angels, thoſe knowing creatures, deſire to pry into, and wonder at it.

Exo. 16. 1, 4, 12. Numb 20. 28. Iudg. 15 18. 1 King 17 6, 10 14. 2 King 4. 2. Eph 3. 10.

Reaſ. 3. God will then deliver his people, that the world may know that he is the Helper of *Iſrael*. *Now, O Lord our God* (ſay the faithfull in their great troubles) *ſave us from his hand, that all the Kingdomes of the earth may know that thou art the Lord, even thou only.* When it comes to an extremity, to ſuch a point that all outward helps and meanes faile, ſo that there is no help, or ſuch as is not conſiderable, it is ſo ſmall and weake, then Gods armes, his divine power and wiſedome appeares, then all men cannot but acknowledge, that it is the Lords owne doing, and ſo give him the praiſe. But ſo long as there are outward meanes and helps, that in an ordinary providence can relieve, we are wonderfull apt to aſcribe deliverance to the meanes, to ſecond cauſes: But when there is no help in the creature, then it muſt needs be the hand of God, and ſo acknowledged.

Iſa 37. 20.

Therefore it was, that the Lord would not let *Gideon* fall upon the *Midianites* and *Amalekites*, with his thirty two thouſand men, leſt the victory might be thought to be from man, and not from God, but cauſed all to returne ſave 300. an inconſiderable number, to conquer ſuch an innumerable army, and gives them victory, without giving a blow, till the enemies themſelves fled. *The people that are with thee* (ſaith God) *are too many for me to*

give

Iudg 7.2. *give the* Midianites *into their hands, leſt* Iſrael *vant themſelves againſt me, ſaying, mine owne hand hath ſaved me.* Therefore the Exod 14,2 &c. Lord ſuffered *Pharaoh* to purſue *Iſrael* to the Red Sea, where there was no way for them to eſcape; and then againe into the midſt of the Sea, that it might appeare to all the world, that *Iſraels* deliverance, and the *Egyptians* overthrow and deſtruction was from God, and ſo his right hand became glorious in power. That is the third Reaſon, why the Lord *will deliver his people* in their extremities, that the world may ſee, that deliverance is from the Lord, and that it is he that is the Helper of *Iſrael*, that they might aſcribe it to him, and ſeeke to him only in time of need.

4. The Lord *will deliver his people* in their extremity, that his people may have an experimentall knowledge of him, both to ſupport themſelves in evill times, and be the better inabled to comfort others, and ſupport the feeble-minded. It is a great comfort, and will help much in evill times, when a man can looke backe and ſay, Such a time I was bronght to ſuch a ſtraite, and the Lord delivered me; into ſuch an extreame want, and God provided for me; into ſuch diſeaſes and weakneſſe, that all friends and Phyſitians forſooke me, and gave me over for a dead man; yet then the Lord did raiſe me up againe, beyond all expectation; into ſuch and ſuch a trouble, and the Lord carried me through, or delivered me when there was no hope, as [a] *David*, and [b] *Paul* did, and ſo [c] might be able to help others alſo.

a 1 Sam. 17. 34. &c.
b 2 Cor. 1. 9, 10
c 2 Cor. 1. 4.

The godly know by faith, that God is the ſupporter and helper of the Saints; The word ſaith it, and they beleeve it, but when God doth indeed bring them into the Mount, into ſome great trouble, extremity or other, doth awhile leave them there, yet doth ſupport them in it, or deliver them out of it, then they ſee and know God by experience to be ſuch. That is obſervable to this purpoſe in 2 *Chron.* *Then* Manaſſes *knew that the Lord he was God*, i.e. *then he knew it by experience in himſelf.*

2 Chr. 33. 13.

5. The Lord *will be ſeen in the Mount*, and then help and deliver his people, that they may be truly thankfull, more affected with his goodneſſe, prize mercy more, and be more thankfull for it. O! how welcome is the Haven to a weather-beaten Mariner,

riner, that every moment looked to be ſhipwrackt? bread to an hungry man, that is even ready to periſh? pardon to a condemned wretch, that is upon the Gallowes, ready to be turned off the ladder? how will he prize ſuch a mercy? how thankfully will he accept it? but let the Mariner be ſafely harboured, ſo ſoone as the ſtorme begins to ariſe, or the hungry man have meate, ſo ſoone as his appetite craves it, or the malefactor have his pardon given him, as ſoone as he is apprehended or impriſoned, it will be ſleighted, he cannot be ſo affected with it, and thankfull for it as otherwiſe he would. How greatly *Abraham* here was affected with this mercy, and thankfull for it, when God appeared to him in the Mount, this Chapter doth teſtifie, and this verſe is a divine record of it. He called the name of the place *Jehovah-jireh.*

6. And laſtly, The Lord *will be ſeen in the Mount,* help and deliver his people, that their faith faile not, and they behave themſelves untowardly and uncomely in his Covenant. If God bring his people into the Mount, into great extremity, and they wait and wait ſtill, and no help come, the feeble Chriſtians faith will be apt to faile, and he to faint and behave himſelfe uncomely, ſhame himſelfe, ſtaine his profeſſion, and diſhonour God, diſcourage others, and open the mouthes of evill men againſt the truth and wayes of God. Now the Lord will not breake a *bruiſed reed,* nor quench the *ſmoaking flaxe,* not ſuffer a poore weake Chriſtian to faint; and therefore will help in due time, that he may not quench the ſmoaking flaxe, nor breake the bruiſed reed; not quench, but increaſe grace; not deſtroy, but build up faith. *I will not contend for ever* (ſayes God) *neither will I be alwayes wroth; for the Spirit ſhould faile before me, and the ſoules which I have made.* And theſe be the Reaſons why the Lord will be ſeen in the Mount, help and deliver his people in their extremities, and ſo we come to application. Iſa. 42. 3. 1 Cor. 10. 13. Iſa. 57. 16.

And firſt, behold here this truth verified in our dayes, and in theſe Realmes of his Majeſty! Was not God ſeen in the Mount to *Scotland,* our neighbour-Nation, given them a wonderfull deliverance, and a happy peace, when nothing was before their eyes but ruine and deſtruction, intended and threatened againſt them, by the publike enemies of both Kingdomes, who thought to *Uſe* 1. 1639. & 1640.

to raiſe and ſettle themſelves by their ruine? Did not God ap-
1641. Oct. 23 peare in the Mount to poore *Ireland*, in ſaving the head-City of the Kingdome (and conſequently the Kingdome) the very night before it ſhould have been ſurprized? Was not this Nation brought into the Mount? and did not God wonderfully deliver
1588. it in 88. from the *Spaniſh Armado*, ſtiled *invincible* by the adver-
1605. Nov. 5. ſaries themſelves, in their vaine boaſt of it? In the yeare 1605. from the Gun-powder-treaſon, that tranſcendent and moſt horrid villany, a few houres before it ſhould have taken effect? In
1639. the yeare 1639. from the Spaniſh Navy, too little heeded, and too much forgotten by us? And many late deſperate deſignes of the enemies of Chriſt and his people, and particularly of this Church and State in which we ſtill live, by the goodneſſe of the ſame God, who ſhewed mercy to *Abraham*, and *Iſrael*, and *Judah* in their extremities, and delivered them out of the hands of their enemies, *Pharaoh*, *Senacherib*, *Haman*, and others?

Uſe 2. Secondly, if God be *ſeen in the Mount*, help and deliver his people in their extremities, then hence (by conſidering withall, Gods uſuall dealings and carriage towards his and their enemies, when he delivers his people) we may inferre, That God will deſtroy his and their enemies, the preſent and future enemies of the Church of Chriſt. See a few inſtances; when God delivered
Exod 12.29. *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, he at the ſame time (to make the more for
14.23. & 15.1. their delivery and ſecurity) he deſtroyed, firſt all the firſt borne of *Egypt* (beſide the other deſtructions that before did befall their cattle, corne, fiſh, &c) and then *Pharaoh* himſelfe, and all his Princes, and army in the Red Sea. So when God brought
Ier. 25. 12. *Iſrael* out of *Babylon*, he firſt by the *Grecians* deſtroyed the *Babylonians* Monarchy, that had waſted, and grievouſly oppreſſed
2 Chr 13 14. his people. When he delivered *Abyah* and *Judah*, he deſtroyed
14. 11. of their enemies 500000. When he delivered *Aſa* and his people, he deſtroyed *Zerah* the Ethyopian, and many of his great
20.10 22. army. When he ſaved *Jehoſaphat*, *Judah*, and *Jeruſalem*, he deſtroyed the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and the inhabitants of Mount
32.1. 21 *Seir*. When he ſaved *Hezekiah*, he deſtroyed 185000 of *Senacheribs* numerous army. When he ſaved the *Jewes*, he deſtroyed
Heſt. 7. & 9. *Haman* the Jewes enemy, and his ſonnes, and all thoſe that roſe

up

up againſt them. Likewiſe often when he delivered *Iſrael* under the Judges, and in the time of the Kings, he deſtroyed or grievouſly puniſhed the proud enemies of his people. For God uſeth wicked men but as rods to correct his children, and when they are corrected and bettered, that he will uſe that rod no more, then he throwes the rod into the fire. The ſacred Scriptures are cleare and full to this purpoſe, and abundant in examples of this kind.

And aſſuredly, he is ſtill the ſame God, as powerfull, as wiſe, as loving and good as ever to his people, as faithfull in his promiſes, and as juſt, and full of indignation againſt his and their enemies, as ever he was, and therefore will ſtill ſhew himſelfe for his people, and againſt their enemies as much as ever heretofore. So that the Turke, the great enemy of the Chriſtians, and Antichriſt, the grand enemy of the true Church of Chriſt, muſt downe, and fall, and periſh. It is propheſied long agoe, in Saint *Johns* time, and by him, *Babylon the great* (*viz.* myſticall *Babylon, Rome*) *is fallen, is fallen*, and in truth alſo, in part already, and is declining in number, wealth, greatneſſe, power, glory, and credit every day more and more. It remarkeably began to fall, when *Luther* that renowned ſervant of God, did ſo publickely ſet up the ſtandard of the Goſpell, and ſo many thouſands did reſort unto it, and many thouſands fell off from the Pope to Chriſt, in *Germany*, *France*, the *Low-Countries*, in *England* and *Scotland*: And it was no ſmall wound to the *Antichriſtian beaſt*, that that Nation gave to it the other yeare. And ſurely (beloved) the downefall of *Antichriſt*, the *Pope*, *that Man of ſinne*, and his Adherents, the *Papacy*, and *Romane Hierarchy* cannot (I conceive) be far off, if not very near at hand. Rev. 18. 2.

Thirdly, this may be of good uſe to ſupport and comfort us for the preſent, and in future times, againſt all extremities and troubles whatſoever. God will be as good ſtill to his ſervants, all that walke in the ſteps of the faith and obedience of *Abraham*, as to the faithfull in former ages. For our greater comfort, let us inſtance in 5. caſes, namely, in caſe of extremity, of want or danger, of loſſe, of violent temptations, of Gods ſeeming not to heare prayer, and of ſpirituall deſertion.

1. *In caſe of extreame want or danger*, we ſhould ſeeke unto

God, and depend upon him, the al-ſufficient, and faithfull God, as *Abraham* did here, *He Will be ſeen in the Mount* : As for inſtance, ſuppoſe thy caſe ſhould be like *Eliahs* or *Sampſons*, that was ready to periſh with thirſt, or the *poore Widow*, that had only a little oyle in a cruſe, and a little meale in a barrell, that thou ſhouldſt be in want, have nothing to keep ſoule and body together, and maintaine life, no money in the purſe, no bread in the cupbord, no meale in the barrell, no friend in the world that thou knoweſt of, and it may be, greatly in debt alſo, that thou ſcarſe dareſt ſhew thy face, for feare of an Arreſt, as was the
2 King 4.1. poore widow, All is gone, ſaith ſhe, *and the Creditour is come to take unto him my two ſonnes to be bondmen* : All is gone, nothing left to preſerve life, nor afford me comfort, but my two ſonnes, and now the Creditor is come to deprive me of that alſo.
1 Kin. 17.6. Here is a ſad complaint, yet God did provide for *Eliah* bread and fleſh in the Morning, and bread and fleſh in the Evening, by a Raven, which in reaſon would rather have robbed, then relieved him. He provided drinke for *Sampſon*, even out of the
Judg. 15.18. Numb. 20.7,8, 11. jaw-bone of an Aſſe: for *Iſrael* out of the ſtony rocke, and the poore widow increaſed her oyle, whereby ſhe was inabled,
2 Kin. 4.3,4,7. both to live comfortably, and pay her debts : ſo if thou canſt by faith looke up unto God, and depend upon him in the moderate uſe of lawfull meanes, if any be, he is able, and will ſurely provide, and doe that which ſhall be beſt for thee.

Therefore reſolve with faithfull *Habakkuk*, in the perſon of
Hab. 3.17. the Church, *Although the fig-tree ſhall not bloſſome, neither ſhall fruit be in the vines ; the labour of the Olive ſhall faile, and the field ſhall beare no meat, the flocke ſhall be cut off from the field, and there ſhall be no herd in the ſtalles, yet I Will reioyce in the Lord, I Will ioy in the God of my ſalvation, The Lord God is my ſtrength.*

Againe, ſuppoſe thou be in any great danger (as ſometimes
1 Sam 23. was *David*, *Jonas*, or *Paul*, *when the ſhip Was broken*, and when
Act. 27.18. he and the reſt of his brethren with him, *Were preſſed out of*
2 Cor. 1.8,9,10 *meaſure, above ſtrength, inſomuch that they deſpaired of life, and had the ſentence of death in themſelves, that they ſhould not truſt in themſelves, but in God, God did deliver them from ſo great a death*) Though I ſay it be thy caſe, yet deſpaire not, be not diſcouraged, why ſhouldſt not thou hope in God, as well as they did? Oh but

they

they were moſt eminent perſons, for faith, humility,&c. but I am a poore, vile wretch, full of unbeleefe, pride,&c. Well, be it ſo ; Yet know that God (though he expect, and command us to grow in grace, yet he lookes not in the hearing of prayer) at the meaſure of grace in the petitioner, but to the truth of grace, and the ſincerity of the heart : Yea, the rather will God help, becauſe thou art a poore weake ſoule, that canſt not wait long, or beare much. *To him will I looke* (ſaith God) *even to him that is poore, and of a contrite ſpirit,* to ſuch a ſoule as ſees nothing in himſelf, but abundance of ſinne, and emptineſſe of God. *He will not quench the ſmoaking flaxe, nor breake the bruiſed reed,* ſaith the Prophet *Iſay*. Iſa.60.2. 32.3.

Thus in reſpect of private, ſo alſo in reſpect of the publicke troubles and ſtraits of the Church, abroad in *Germany*, in *Ireland*, and here at home, whatſoever, or how evill ſoever our condition ſeeme to be, yet let not any faithfull ſoule be diſcouraged, God will not deſtroy his people, he will not deliver them up into the hands of their enemies, but will be ſeen in the Mount, and will help and deliver them when it comes to the point, when outward meanes faile.

1. All the former examples, and many more upon record, both in divine and humane Hiſtories (which might be mentioned) of Gods goodneſſe towards his people in their ſtraits, are encouragements to us : For *whatſoever was written afore time was written for our inſtruction, that we through patience and comfort of the Scripture might have hope* ; And therefore why ſhould we be diſcouraged ? humbled for our owne and others ſinnes, and Gods diſhonour, indeed we ſhould be, but not diſcouraged, hang downe the head as men without hope. Therefore Rom.15.4.

2, Weigh alſo thoſe 5. Reaſons, which doe over-power my ſpirit, diſpell ſuch feares, and carry it on high, as it were above the Sun.

1. God ſpared *England* when it was at the worſt, when Religion, Lawes, and all went downe the winde, and ſcarſe a man durſt publickely ſhew his face for God, when prophaneneſſe, ſuperſtition, and idolatry increaſed greatly without controule, and no thoughts of Reformation ; and therefore, much more will he ſpare it now, Reformation is begun. If God ſhould now

ſuffer the enemies to prevaile, now *England* begins to reforme, then it would be to his great dishonour, the enemies of the Church would impute it to the Reformation, and blaſphemouſly ſay, That becauſe we goe about, to reforme things amiſſe in the Church, and remove evils, therefore God is angry with us, and hath given us up into their hands, and ſo impute our deſtruction to reformation, which is Gods worke, as the procuring cauſe of our miſery and overthrow, and their victory and triumph in our ruines, to their Popiſh prayers, and Idoll-Saints; but God will not part with his glory, which he hath purchaſed with a ſtrong hand.

See a notable promiſe, and an example to this purpoſe.

2 Chron. 19. 1. A notable inſtance to this purpoſe in *Jehoſaphats* dayes, he ſeeing things greatly amiſſe in the Church, and Civill State, ſet upon the worke of Reformation, purged the houſe of God, and reformed much in the Church and Common-wealth, preſently upon that came the *Moabites*, the *Ammonites*, and the inhabitants of Mount *Seir* againſt him, with ſo great an army, that he profeſſed, *there was no might in him and his people to withſtand them, and that they knew not what to doe*; yet the enemies of *Judah* had a mighty overthrow, and why? becauſe *Jehoſaphat* had put himſelfe and his people into a good poſture of defence, in reſpect of their ſpirituall ſtate towards God, by their humiliation and reformation, they were returned againe to the Lord, and ſought him; and therefore God would not now leave them, when they had moſt need of his help: Yea, when Pagan *Niniveh* did begin to reforme and turne away from their evill wayes, God did not deſtroy them as he had threatened, and otherwiſe had undoubtedly done; and yet their reformation is generally ſuppoſed to be but outward, and hypocriticall, not inward, of the heart and ſincere, much leſſe will God deſtroy a Chriſtian Nation, when we begin to reforme, and turne to him.

Cap 20. v. 10, 11, 12. Ver. 25.

Ionah 3. 10.

2. See alſo a notable promiſe to this purpoſe, *Jer.* 18. ſaith God, *At what inſtant I ſhall ſpeake concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdome to plucke up, to pull downe and deſtroy it; If that Nation againſt whom I have pronounced, turne from their evill, I will repent of the evill I thought to doe unto them.* God threatens deſtruction to *England*, *England* begins to reforme her evill wayes, and put

Jer. 18, 7, 8.

put away her whoredomes and abominations, and therefore ſurely God will ſpare, not deſtroy *England*, whatſoever dangers ſeem to threaten us.

3. God hath many mourners in *England* that ſigh and groane, becauſe of the abominations and ſinnes of the land, and doe ſtrive againſt them, and thirſt after a pure ſtate of the Church with longing deſire; Yea, the Parliament, the repreſentative body of this Kingdome, hath ever in theſe declining times bin againſt the evils, declared themſelves againſt them, and laboured what in them lay to redreſſe evils, and purge the Church, and God doth not uſe to deſtroy a Nation, or give them up into the hands of their enemies, ſo long as the *Lots*, *Jobs*, *Samuels*, *Daniels* remaine in it, and ſtand in the gap; much leſſe when the whole kingdome, as the Parliament is, by repreſentation and deputation, ſtand in the gap, and ſeeke to turne away wrath from the people. So much is clearly implyed in that ſpeech of God, *I ſought for a man among them that ſhould make up the hedge, and ſtand in the gap before me for the land, that I ſhould not deſtroy it, but I found none.* This Argument hath given good hopes to many, even when things were at worſt, and no Parliament thought of, that God would yet be gracious to *England*. Ezek. 22. 30.

4. *England* falls to Faſting and Praying throughout the Land, and God hath put a mighty ſpirit of prayer into the hearts of his people, generally throughout the Kingdome; every good mans heart is inlarged towards God for the peace of *Jeruſalem*, even children in yeares, and young perſons have eyes to ſee that things are amiſſe, and their hearts open to goe to the throne of grace, for mercy and favour for *England*, and have their dayes of humiliation and prayer, yea, ſcarce any that hath the face of a Chriſtian, or principle of common honeſty in him, but doth as well as he can, pray for *Englands* peace and happineſſe. And we doe not any where reade of any people, whom God deſtroyed, when they fell generally throughout the Land to Faſting and Prayer, but ever that God ſpared them; *Iſrael* and *Judah* often (yea and ſome out of the Church, as the *Ninevites*) and very often when they have bin brought to a very low condition, yet, when they ſought unto God in their trouble, he delivered them. See one place inſtead of many, namely, *Pſal.* 107. eſpecially, *v.* 6. 13, 19. Jon. 3. 5.

6, 13, 19, 28 *Then they cryed unto the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them out of their diſtreſſes.* I will trouble you
Heſt. c. 4. 7. & 8 with one publike inſtance, and that is in *Heſter*, and two inſtances in particular perſons. In *Heſters* time the Church of the *Iews* was brought into a very low condition, and a moſt deſperate ſtrait, nothing was before them in the eye of humane reaſon, but death and utter deſtruction, the Decree was ſealed never to be reverſed, and the Poſtes haſted to publiſh it every where, that all their enemies might be ready at the day appointed to deſtroy them; the *Iewes* fell to Faſting and Prayer, and God delivered them. For particular inſtances,
Dan. 4. 31. one is in *Nebuchadnezzar*, he was brought ſo low, that a man would have thought, it had been impoſſible for him, ever to have been reſtored, he had loſt his Kingdome and wits alſo, which are (as a learned man ſaid) the onely way to bring
Ver. 34. a man in againe; he had loſt all his beauty and was become as a Beaſt of the field, not in ſubſtance, but in condition and carriage, yet when he looked up to Heaven, God heard him and reſtored him to his ſenſes, kingdome and honour againe,
Jon. 2. 1. and ſo he did *Ionah*, when a man in all reaſon would have thought it impoſſible, being then in the middle of the Sea, covered over with waters, and in the Whales belly, a creature whoſe ſtomack can digeſt any thing.

4. And ſurely this alſo hath weight in it, and is a good argument of hope and comfort, that God hath ſet up many worthy lights, and put many faithfull, painfull and profitable labourers into his Vineyard very lately, and many, (eſpecially young people) come in a-pace and ſubmit to the Goſpell, and beginne to ſhew forth the power of Godlineſſe in their lives.

5. Alſo it is very remarkable and comfortable, conſider, that all the plots, deſignes and indeavours of the enemies have hitherto been ſo timely (through Gods goodneſſe and the Parliaments vigilancy) diſcovered, prevented and diſappointed in a great part, that all hath turned to their diſ-advantage, and the good of the Church, and furtherance of the werke of God, that is upon the wheeles, and the whole carriage of all things (through Gods great goodneſſe) ſeemes to me

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And therefore (Brethren) be not diſcouraged ! doe not feare, ſuffer not your hearts to be caſt downe, whatſoever the preſent dangers ſeeme to threaten : But looke up unto God and depend upon him. It is a great fault for a Chriſtian to let goe his hold, when dangers are great and imminent, though we be too too apt to doe ſo upon all occaſions: yet we ſhould not. *David* did ſo, but when he had recollected his thoughts, he did much blame himſelfe for it, *Why art thou caſt downe ô my ſoule, and why art thou diſquieted in me ?* And therefore Pſ.43 5. plucke up your ſpirits, prepare for the worſt, yet looke beyond the cloud, and behold with an eye of Faith Gods great power, wiſdome, goodneſſe, faithfulneſſe and the like, and thinke upon what he hath done for his Church formerly, and of late yeares for our ſelves in particular, how he hath ſtill diſcovered the Papiſts plots and deſignes, and preſerved his people, and then thinke of what *Manoahs* wife ſaid to her diſtruſtfull timorous husband. *If the Lord were pleaſed to* Jud.13.22,23. *kill us, he would not then have received a burnt-offering and a meat-offering at our hands, neither would he have ſhewed us all theſe things, nor would at this time have told us ſuch things as theſe.* So if the Lord had a purpoſe to deſtroy this Nation, or give us up into the hand of our enemies, he would not have done thus and thus for us as he hath done ; for though the Lord doth not, or very rarely worke miracles now, yet he works wonders, and is as able and willing to doe as great things as ever he was, yea, and doth ſo too, when there is the like occaſion, and hath often within theſe few years laſt paſt done very great things. However let us doe our duty, look up unto God and depend upon him, and reſolve every one of us with *Iob, Though the Lord ſlay mee, yet will I truſt in him.* Job 13.15.

I will not deny but riſings may be, and ſome bloud be ſhed; God will ſurely repay blood with blood, and if not by the Sword, yet at leaſt by the execution of Juſtice on ſuch, as have ſhed the blood of his Saints, and bin the grand enemies of his Church, but I cannot conceive our trouble will be much or long, I hope,

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but

but a brunt: Indeed, when I looke upon our many, great, crying ſins, Gods Juſtice, Purity and Holines, and the unwillingnes of many to be healed, yea, obſtinacy in their evill wayes, &c. I can look for no mercy, but rather wonder we were not deſtroyed long agoe, but when again I look upon the conſiderations above mentioned, the whole courſe of Gods providence all along to this day, laying open perſons and things, diſcovering and preventing moſt dangerous plots and deſignes, and bringing on his worke ſtill notwithſtanding, yea, by the adverſaries plots (though full ſore againſt their minds) and when I alſo looke upon the intolerable inſolency, impiety, blaſphemies and confidence of victory in many of that party, I cannot conceive they ſhall go on long or doe much hurt.

Is not (I will onely move the Queſtion, but determine nothing) Is not, or may not this be thought to be the time, when the witneſſes, the godly Miniſters ſlaine by the Prelacy and their procuring, in reſpect of their office, thruſt out of their livings and calling, wherein they might have bin uſefull in the Church of God, and ſo dead in reſpect of office, are riſen againe from the dead, reſtored to their Miniſtery, to the wonder of all that ſee it, and knew what havocke was made of them (when fifty able and godly Miniſters within two yeares ſpace, were excommunicated, deprived, ſilenced, and ſuſpended by one man) but the other day, and ſo upward, for divers yeares together?

Articles againſt B. *Wren.*

Rev. 11. 12, 13. Obſerve what is ſaid by Saint *John*, of the witneſſes, *v.* 12. *And they aſcended up to Heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them*, of the Churches enemies, *v.* 13. *And the ſame houre was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the City fell, and in the earthquake were ſlaine of men ſeven thouſand, and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of Heaven. At the ſame houre* (marke it) namely when the faithfull witneſſes were raiſed up, reſtored to life, to their offices and places in the miniſtery againe, *there was a great earthquake, i.e.* a great alteration and change in the Church, and it muſt needs be here from the worſe to the better, *and a tenth part of the City fell*: By City, ſome underſtand *Rome* it ſelf, which ſay ſome, is but a tenth part of that which once was, others rather

rather of the Romane Hierarchy and power of Antichriſt, in his Adherents, Abettors, and Supporters, *and in the earthquake were ſlaine of men*, 7000. *of men*, in the Greeke, ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων not of men, but of the *names of men*. Names are ſometimes taken for Titles and Offices: *were ſlaine, viz.* in this earthquake, alteration and reformation of the Church. Now if there be found about 7000 of the Prelates, Chancellors, Arch-Deacons, Officials, with an *Et cætera*, ſuppoſe what may be the iſſue of this earthquake, that now ſhakes in theſe Kingdomes of his Majeſty, eſpecially in this of *England*. But the thing I chiefly note this place for, is this, to ſhew (as I conceive) that our troubles cannot be long, nor great, in reſpect of the downfall of our adverſaries, the enemies of the Church, and who can tell whether the Lord will not by ſuch a way take occaſion to ſingle out the enemies of his Church, which hee hath appointed to be the objects of juſtice, which otherwiſe could not be ſo obnoxious to juſtice, as by ſuch a way they may be? But I affirme nothing poſitively, times and meanes are in Gods hand, but doe aſſure my ſelfe, that the iſſue whenſoever it be, will be the Churches greater good, and the enemies downefall. That is the firſt caſe of extreame want or danger.

Secondly, In *caſe of loſſe*, as it was with the worthies, *Heb* 11. that ſuffered the loſſe of all, and the faithfull Jewes, *that tooke* Heb. 10 34. *joyfully the ſpoyling of their goods*, and *David*, who when all was 1 Sam. 30. 6. gone, and the people alſo talked of ſtoning of him, *he comforted himſelfe in God*, and *Moſes, who refuſed to be called the ſon of* Pharaohs *daughter, chuſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, then to enioy the pleaſures of ſinne, that laſt but for a ſeaſon.* Heb. 11. 24, 25, 26. You know alſo how it was with *Job*, he loſt all he had, that he had not an Oxe, or Aſſe, or Sheep left him, his ſervants and children alſo, and his friends left him; yea, his owne wife and ſervants that remained were againſt him, he was brought even to the top of the Mount, into ſuch an extremity, what with outward and inward loſſes and troubles that he could ſcarſe goe any further: Yet when *Job* humbled himſelfe, and ſought unto God, he was heard, and obtained mercy; God reſtored to him his health, and honour againe, proſperity, friends, beauty, and all returned to him againe, and he was greater then ever before, alſo he had Iob 1. 2, 3.

ſons and daughters. Likewiſe God provided for *Moſes* and the
See Mat.6.25. to 34. reſt. So be thy caſe like theirs, yet God will provide or ſupport, without meanes, or take thee away to a better ſtate of life, where we ſhall have better and more durable riches, where there will
Mat.19 27,28,29. be no need of outward comforts. Jeſus ſaid to his Diſciples, *Verily I ſay unto you, that every one that hath forſaken houſes, or brethren, or ſiſters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or land for my Names ſake, ſhall receive a hundred fold, and ſhall inherit eternall life.*

3. In *caſe of violent temptations*, looke upon *Saul*, he was buffeted grievouſly, he prayed often that God would free him from it, notwithſtanding God ſtill continued his affliction, though very heavy, yet at laſt, after divers fervent prayers, God gave
2 Cor.12.7,8,9 him this comfortable anſwer, *My grace is ſufficient for thee.* If God lay on weight, he will give ſhoulders, and ſtrength to beare
1 Cor.10.13. it. *God is faithfull* (ſayes the Apoſtle) *who will not ſuffer you to be tempted above that you are able.* See it alſo in *Heman*, *Aſaph*, *David*, *Job* and others.

4. In *caſe of Gods not hearing prayer.* It may be thou prayeſt for ſome ſpeciall good, or removall of ſome ſpeciall evill, and prayeſt and prayeſt againe and againe, yet God heareth not (I
There is a 3 fold hearing of prayer, viz. of obſervation, of approbation, & of teſtification. ſpeake of hearing of teſtification) but ſeemes to turne the deafe eare, and it may be to deny thee, yet be of good comfort: It was ſo with the woman of *Canaan*, ſhe begged hard, he denyed her, ſhe went to him againe and againe, would take no denyall, at laſt he gave her a gracious anſwer, *Be it unto thee even as thou wilt.* So *Paul* prayed againe and againe, God anſwered not till
Mat.15.22. 2 Cor.12.8,9. the third time, *i.e.* till he prayed often. It may be thou art not humbled enough, thou art not yet fit for mercy; and therefore ſearch and humble thy ſelfe, pray ſtill, and wait upon God, *He will be ſeen in the Mount.*

5. In *caſe of ſpirituall deſertion*, when God hides his face, withdrawes the light of his countenance from a ſoule that lyeth conflicting under great trouble: If this be thy caſe, yet faint not, be not caſt downe, looke up unto God ſtill. So ſaith the Pro-
Iſa.50.10. phet *Iſaiah*, *Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that walketh in darkneſſe, and hath no light*, that is in great and deep deſertions and troubles, and hath no light of comfort, *Let him truſt in the Name*

Name of the Lord, and ſtay upon his God. It is a great comfort to a ſtranger that is in a wide Forreſt in a darke night, to have a ſure guide with him, to direct him the way that will certainly bring him where he would be; And ſo it may be to a deſerted ſoule, that walks in darkneſſe, and hath no light of comfort to have ſuch a ſure guide as this to direct him a ſure way, to find comfort in the end, *Let him truſt in the Name of the Lord*, &c. This God will be ſeen in the Mount. It may be thou art not yet come to the top of the Mount, and therefore patiently goe on ſtill, God will be ſeen in the Mount. Thus (brethren) when we conſider what a God we have in Covenant, and what a promiſe he hath made, we have good ground to comfort our ſelves in him in all extremities.

Fourthly, *will God be ſeen in the Mount*, then this may ſerve to *teach*, *incite*, and *encourage* all in generall, and particularly the honourable Houſes of Parliament. *Uſe 4.*

Firſt, All in generall, and that to a double duty.

1. To goe unto God by prayer in all caſes of extremity, yea in all troubles and afflictions whatſoever. God himſelfe directs us to this, *Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee.* Pſal. 50. 15. And it is the conſtant practiſe of the Saints, yea of wicked men alſo, to go to God in their troubles, yea very Pagans and Heathens doe ſo; Witneſſe the rude Mariners that carried *Jonas* in their Ionah 1. 5. ſhip, and the ſouldiers with him. And indeed this is a powerfull and prevailing meanes, being rightly performed, and cannot be otherwiſe, if we conſider that ſuch prayers are,

1. The act of Gods Spirit in the ſoule, and according to his will. *The Spirit maketh interceſſion for the Saints, according to the will of God*; and therefore being the worke of Gods owne Spirit, and according to his will, it cannot but be accepted and prevailing. Rom. 8. 27.

2. It is grounded on Gods owne promiſes, *Aske and have, Whatſoever ye ſhall aske the Father in my Name he will give it you. Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee*, and God cannot deny himſelfe.

3. Such prayers are put up by the hand of *Jeſus Chriſt, the beloved of the Father, in whom he is well pleaſed*, and whom he cannot deny any thing, ſo that though he may and will deny us when

we goe in our owne name, yet he will not deny thoſe that goe unto him in his Sons name, the humble, faithfull requeſts of his poore ſervants put up in the name of Jeſus Chriſt.

4. I may adde alſo, that it tends much to his glory to heare the prayers of his ſervants, and help them in their extremities, it proclaimes his omniſcience, almighty power, wiſedome, goodneſſe, faithfulneſſe and care over his people.

Therefore pray, and pray fervently and faithfully, and pray conſtantly, give not over praying whatſoever extremity thou ſeemeſt to thy ſelfe to be brought into; yea, the greater the extremity, pray more earneſtly, and hope moſt. A ſhip hath moſt uſe of an Ankor when the waves are roughеſt, and the ſtorme greateſt: ſo here moſt need to pray, and put out the Ankor of hope in greateſt troubles, and there is ground for it, then to be fulleſt of hope, becauſe deliverance is neareſt, the nearer to the top of the Mount, to the uttermoſt extremity, the nearer to mercy, for God will be ſeen in the Mount, he will help and deliver in extremity.

2. It ſhould teach us all patiently to relye upon God in every caſe, in every place and condition caſt thy ſelfe upon him. He was with *Daniel* in the Lyons den to ſtop the Lyons mouthes, with the 3. children in the fiery furnace, to reſtraine the force of the fire that it hurt them not, and ſo with others in their troubles and tryals, and hath promiſed to be with all his. *When thou paſſeſt through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers they ſhall not overflow thee; and when thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt, neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee. I will never leave thee, nor forſake thee.* In what condition or extremity ſoever thou be, yet ſtill wait patiently upon God, he will help in the moſt ſeaſonable time.

Isa. 43 2.

Ioſh. 1 5, 8. Heb. 13 5.

Oh, but my ſinnes are great, I am a vile unworthy creature, he will not regard ſuch a vile wretch as I am, beſide all outward meanes faile.

Anſw. But take heed, doe not limit the *Holy One of Iſrael*, neither for the thing, time, manner nor meanes, he is al-ſufficient, his mercies are great and free, and he knowes the fitteſt time; therefore feare not, but relye wholly on God, truſt perfectly in him. There is in many a truſting in God,

but

but it is imperfect, they ſeeke to, and truſt in other things with God, yea without God, in themſelves, friends, and other things and meanes. This ought not to be ſo, we ſhould truſt wholly and only in God, and wait patiently on him, he will be ſeen in due time. *Conſider the Husbandman, he waiteth for the fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, be ye alſo patient, ſtabliſh your heart,* ſaith *James.* If the Husbandman doe with patience undergoe all weathers and caſualties, and wait long for the fruit, that he may have a joyfull harveſt, then much more ought they to wait that ſow ſeed in Heaven, gracious and precious ſeed, teares and prayers, and doubtleſſe they ſhall reap in due time, we have Gods owne word for it, *They that ſow in teares ſhall reap in joy.* Iam. 5 7,8. Pſal. 137 7,8.

Secondly, as it may and ought to teach and encourage all to goe on, and reſt perfectly and patiently on God, ſo particularly to *You the Worthies of Iſrael,* who are now imployed by God, the King and Countrey, in the great ſervice of the Kingdome. You have a great worke before you, mighty Adverſaries, and great oppoſition, the Devill, the Pope, that *Balaam* of *Rome*, that curſeth the people that will not adhere to him, and all the rabble of popiſh and prophane wretches, who are digging as deep as hell to undermine you, and your honourable proceedings, and blow all up, their continuall deſperate deſignes, and hell-bred treaſons, and bloudy threatenings, witneſſe to all the world the extreame height of their malice, and your dangers. You ſeeme to be now even in the very top of the Mount of extreame dangers, and the whole Kingdome, our Religion, Lawes, liberties, and free Courts of Juſtice with you are upon the verticall point; yet be not diſcouraged (much honoured Patriots) God will be ſeen in the Mount, doe you continue daily to ſeeke unto God, wholly deny your ſelves, and depend upon him, walke with him, and ſeeke him and the publicke good in all your undertakings, and be aſſured God will ever protect, direct, preſerve and deliver you. Hath he not preſerved, directed, and protected you hitherto, even to admiration, when there was but a ſtep, but a word betwixt you and death? and he will ever protect, and in due time deliver his Majeſty, and the Kingdome with you, if you ſtill walke with

him ; God will be ſeen in the Mount, when it comes to the very point, when the enemies of *Sion* thinke to ſtrike the fatall blow.

But when God ſhewes himſelf in the Mount, helps and delivers you, and the Kingdome with you in our extremities, and treads the enemies under the foot of juſtice, then beware you doe not forget to returne all poſſible praiſe and thankfulneſſe to God, for ſo great a mercy ; but with *Abraham* here, erect a Monument to perpetuate the memory of ſuch divine mercies to poſterity : And in the meane time you muſt ſet up your *Eben-ezer, Hitherto hath God helped us*, as *Samuel* and all *Iſrael* did.

1 Sam. 7. 12.

And ſo I come to the third and laſt point, obſerved in theſe words, which is this,

Deſt. 3.

That mercies and deliverances in our extremity or great troubles, ought eſpecially to be noted, and the remembrance of them continued.

Here *Abraham* in memory of ſo great a mercy, that ſo eminent a paſſage of divine providence might never be forgotten, he (as it were) ſets up a pillar, or Monument to all poſterity, with this inſcription, *Jehovah-jirah*, the Lord will ſee and provide, with this proverbiall ſpeech alſo, *In the Mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen*. All the while *Abraham* was buſied in making the Altar, laying on the wood, &c. God ſaw, but was not ſeen, did not ſhew himſelfe, but when it came to the act of ſtriking the fatall ſtroake, which was even falling downe, then God was ſeene, *i.e.* did manifeſt his gracious pleaſure in preſerving *Iſaac* ; and therefore *Abraham* labours to perpetuate the memory of this great mercy, in the name of the place ; He called the name of the place, *Jehovah-jirah*.

And ſo ſhould we doe of ſpeciall mercies and deliverances. Indeed we ſhould be thankfull for all, even for the leaſt mercy and deliverance, even nature, common honeſty, and equity require, that where we receive a benefit, we ſhould returne thanks ; beſide, it is a moſt excellent duty, more diſpleaſing to the Devill, but more acceptable to God then prayer ; for prayer argues want, and miſery, which the Devill deſireth and rejoyceth at ; but thankfulneſſe argues plenty, at leaſt a comfortable condition, which

Nihil eſt æquè Deo gratum atq; grati eſſe animi, Chryſoſt. Orat. 2. ad Cor. 1.

which the Divell envies, it doth more argue sincerity of the heart then prayer doth, and shall continue when prayer shall cease. It is very advantagious to our selves, it conciliates favour with God, is (as I may say) an encouragement to our heavenly Father to go on to do us good, and to bestow better and greater mercies and deliverances. But unthankfulnesse is a grievous fault in the opinion even of the very Heathens, displeasing * to God, and seldome goes unpunished in this world, God takes notice of it, though against man, much more if against himselfe, records it to their infamy; instance in *Pharaohs* chiefe Butlers forgetfulnesse of *Joseph*, it hinders good things from us, shuts up the fountaine of Gods goodnesse, causeth him to take away or blast what he hath already given a people, and often brings down judgement upon the head of the unthankfull, as the Scripture witnesseth.

Invitat ad magna qui gratanter suscipit modica. Cassiod. in Psal.

Gravissimum vitium & homine indignum.

* *Spiritus gratiæ contumeliam facit, qui beneficium dantis gratiæ mente non suscipit.* Ber. Ex. 17. 14.

But especially should we be thankfull for, take speciall notice of, and record to posterity speciall mercies and deliverances.

For 1. *So we are commanded*, after God had delivered *Israel* and discomfited *Amalek*. God commanded *Moses* saying, *Write this for a memoriall in a booke*. Likewise when God had brought *Iacob* safe home againe to his native country and delivered him from the wrath of his brother *Esau*, *God bad him goe to* Bethel, *and make there an Altar unto God*, (namely, to offer sacrifice of thankesgiving unto God) *who appeared unto him, when he fled from the face of his brother* Esau, and had now delivered him. Likewise when God had delivered *Israel*, and brought them out of the wildernesse and through the river *Iordan*, *he commanded* Joshua *to take twelve stones out of the middest of* Jordan, *and set them up to bee a memoriall to future generations of what God had that day done for them.*

Gen. 35. 1.

Josh. 4. 1.

2. *Therefore the people of God used to record speciall mercies and deliverances* in their Chronicles, in the names of their children, of places and the like. Also in *Spirituall Songs* and *Psalmes*: So did *Moses Israels* deliverance out of *Ægypt*. *Deborah* and *Baruk* their great deliverance from, and victory over *Sisera* and *Iabin* King of *Canaan*: And *Hezekiah* his Song

Ex. 15. 1.
Jud. 5. 1.
Isa. 38. 9.

Song of thanksgiving after his recovery from ſo eminent a danger of death, and the *Jewes* feaſt of *Purim*.

Heſt. 9 20. &c. & ver. 29, 30, 31

And thirdly, there is great reaſon for it:

1. From *the leſſe to the great*. I argue thus, If we muſt be thankfull for particular and ſmaller, even for the leaſt mercy, as it is, *Pſal.* 103. 2. *Forget not at all*, i.e. *any of his benefits*, and there is good reaſon for it, then much leſſe may we forget or be unthankfull for great and extraordinary mercies and deliverances out of extremities, wherein Gods goodneſſe, power, wiſedome, mercy, &c. are moſt remarkably ſeen.

Reaſ. 1.

2. From *the equity of the duty* 2. wayes.

Firſt, becauſe Gods mercies to the fathers are mercies to their poſterity, future generations are the better for them; Here the mercy ſhewed to *Abraham* in ſaving *Iſaac* was a mercy to all ages; He was to be the ſeed of the Church, *In him*, *i.e.* in the Meſſiah that was to be borne of him, *all Nations ſhould be bleſſed*. So we this day reape the fruit of thoſe great deliverances in 88. and from the Gun-powder treaſon, and others ſince; if either of thoſe, or theſe had taken effect, either we had not now been at all; or been miſerable ſlaves to Antichriſt, both in our ſoules, bodies, and eſtates, without the wonderfull and extraordinary mercy of God; and therefore great reaſon ſuch great mercies and deliverances ſhould be recorded, and the memory of them perpetuated, that the generations to come after us, who have the benefit of them, ſhould know them, and bleſſe God for them. This ſhall be written *for the generation to come, and the people which ſhall be created ſhall praiſe the Lord*.

1588. & 1605.

Pſal. 102. 18.

Secondly, It is equall alſo, that there ſhould be ſome proportion between our receits and our returnes; our mercies are great, extraordinary, laſting, ſtanding mercies for future times, and therefore great reaſon our returnes of praiſe ſhould be more then ordinary, laſting, and continued in our poſterity.

3. Such mercies and deliverances ſhould be ſpecially noted, and the remembrance of them perpetuated *to teſtifie our love to God, deſire of his glory, and hearty thankefulneſſe* for his goodneſſe, care and providence over us, which appeares in that we would have his goodneſſe to be remembred, and his praiſe to live when we are dead. So men doe with benefactors, record their kindneſſe and

and bounty, ſet up a Monument with inſcriptions, that after times may reade their kindneſſe and bounty towards us, whom we love and deſire to honour for their beneficence towards us, eſpecially if publicke, and much more ſhould we labour to perpetuate the mercies and praiſes of our good and bountifull God and Saviour, to teſtifie our love to him, and deſire of his glory. In this caſe a gracious heart may uſe the words of *Paul*, who ſaid, *The love of Chriſt conſtraineth us.* If we truly love God, and deſire to honour him, we ſhall endeavour to perpetuate his praiſes. 2 Cor. 5. 14.

4. We ſhould take ſpeciall notice of, and labour to continue the remembrance of ſpeciall deliverances and mercies, *for the benefit of future ages, for the ſtrengthening their faith*, comfort and ſupport in evill times. *For this cauſe* (ſaith *David*) *ſhall every one that is godly pray unto thee. We have heard with our eares, O God,* (ſay the faithfull in evill times) *Our fathers have told us what Work thou didſt in their dayes, in the time of old,* and marke what uſe the Church makes of Gods former mercies and deliverances to his people. *Thou art my King, O God, command deliverances for* Jacob, *through thee We will puſh downe our enemies, through thy name we will tread them under that riſe up againſt us.* The remembrance of former mercies to his people, though long before, doth ſtrengthen their faith, and put courage into them in their ſtraites, makes them confident in evill times, and to reſt on God in their greateſt exigents, and this uſe wee ſhould ever make of former deliverances, as did alſo *David*, *Paul* and others. Pſal 32. 6. 44. 1. &c. v. 4, 5. 1 Sam. 17. 34. 2 Cor 1. 10.

This being a duty ſo apparent and neceſſary, it may ſerve to reprove and condemne the great ingratitude and vile practiſe of moſt men, and of our ſelves in particular, who are ſo far from perpetuating the remembrance of Gods mercies and deliverances to our ſelves and the Land, That *Uſe of Reprehenſion.*

1. *Many doe not returne thanks to God for them,* no, ſcarce while they are freſh and new, before our eyes, eſpecially for ſmaller, more ordinary and common mercies and deliverances.

We cannot looke any way beſide mercies: If we looke into our ſelves, we have our being, our ſoules and bodies, all our members,

bers, faculties and abilities from God with the continuance of them : If we looke without us, on the Heaven, the Earth and Seas, meat, drinke, clothing, houſes, the fire, water, ayre we breathe in, every creature is a mercy. There are alſo ſpirituall mercies, God gave us his Sonne, a wonderfull mercy and deliverance wrought by him for man, the Goſpell, the Word and Sacraments, great mercies, and theſe with many others we doe enjoy hitherto, with peace, plenty and liberty, no ſmall bleſſings, God hath compaſſed us about with mercies, and delivers us every day from many knowne, and more unknown dangers that might befall us.

If we looke upon mercies in the Mount, in time of extremity, we may ſay much both of publicke and private, of privative and poſitive mercies. If God had not put in and holpen us (may many of us ſay) I had certainly dyed in ſuch a ſickneſſe, in ſuch a danger, I had been utterly undone in ſuch a leſſe, I had been ſpoyled at ſuch a time, &c. So for publicke mercies and deliverances, in which every one hath a ſhare for the publicke good, is every mans private benefit. Was not *England* brought into the Mount, to a very great exigent ? and was not God ſeene for *Englands* good in 88. in ſcattering and deſtroying that invincible Navy, as the Adverſaries themſelves ſtiled it ? In *November* 5. 1605. when there wanted but a very little time to be added to make our King (that then was) and He that now is, the Queene, Prince, Nobles, Commons in Parliament, and many thouſands more, together with the Houſes, the Records of the Land, and of every mans particular right, yea the whole Kingdome, our Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and all to come to nothing, and then God appeared, and wrought a great ſalvation for us before we knew our ſelves to be in danger. So when the Churches in *Germany* were brought to an exceeding low ebbe, God raiſed up that renowned King of *Sweden*, and others ſince, that have done great things, revived the dying hopes of *Germany*, this was the mighty worke of God. So God did wonderfully preſerve *Ireland*, eſpecially the great City of that Kingdome, giving very great and wonderfull deliverances and victories to a few over many very often. God hath preſerved and done great things for faithfull loyall *Scotland* (ſometimes pronounced, and com-

Anno 1588.

1605.

commonly called traytors, though miſunderſtanding, when they ſtood for the defence of Religion, Lawes and Liberties, againſt the publicke enemies of the Church) when in the eye of carnall reaſon there was little or no hopes of enjoying either. Againe, *for our ſelves at home*, did not the Lord ſtrangely and wonderfully preſerve this Nation from the Spaniſh Navy the other yeares, and from imbruing our hands in our neighbours bloud, who ſought our welfare, and deſtroying one another till none remaine, or if we were conquered by them we muſt needs loſe all, and if we did conquer them, we were ſure that both the victory and our ſelves ſhould be a prey to the malignant party for whom we fought. *We have had* many great mercies and deliverances from many great and deſperate deſignes, ſo that we doe enjoy peace, liberty and the Goſpell to this very day, notwithſtanding all our feares and jealouſies grounded upon moſt evident and imminent cauſes, threatening deſtruction and loſſe of all, broken our yoaks, eaſed our ſhoulders and our conſciences alſo in a great put-off of many grievous burdens. The time would faile me to tell of all the great things that God hath done for us within theſe few yeares by-paſt, and utter his mercies and our deliverances by while. There is cauſe enough why we ſhould ſtand even amazed with the *Jewes* in *Babylon*, that after Proclamation of returning to *Jeruſalem*, were ſo affected with it, and wondred at it, that they were as men in an extaſie, like unto them that dreame, they could ſcarce tell whether it were true which they heard and ſaw, or but a dreame.

1639. & 1640.

Pſal. 126. 1.

But beloved, what thankfulneſſe hath been returned to God for all theſe great mercies and deliverances? Surely little, and by too many in a manner none at all, eſpecially for common and ordinary mercies; Many are like the ungratefull Tenant, that enjoyes the Lands and Houſes of a good Land-lord, but will pay no Rent. Like the Husbandman in the Goſpell that did receive the fruits of the Vineyard, but returne nothing: *The truth* is many are like the Swine that doe grouſe up the Acorns, that fall from the Tree, but never looke up to the Tree whence they come: ſo many daily taſte of Gods bleſſings, receive his mercies and deliverances, and yet ſeldome or never lift up the heart in thankfulneſſe to God the Authour and doner of them.

Mat. 21. 34, 41.

Deut 33.13. They were wont in the first Ages of the world, to thinke they had good cause to praise God for the least mercies, as for the dew, &c. We, too many of us, can scarce find in our hearts to praise God for great mercies, while fresh before our eyes, so far are we from labouring to continue the remembrance of them.

2 *Others there are that thinke not of them*, though they take some notice of them, and it may be are a little affected with some of them for the present, yet quickly forget them, even while the things themselves are in their hands, and before their eyes, or newly received, as *Pharaohs Butler forgat Joseph*, and as *Israel* did Gods goodnesse, *They remembred not his hand, nor the day when he delivered them from the enemy. They forgate God their Saviour that had done great things for them in Egypt.* There are, saith one, many sorts of unthankfull men; Some deny they have received a benefit, some dissemble it, some requite not; but most unthankfull are such as forget a kindnesse, shame, honesty and time may mend the former; but what can amend the last sort, who doe so willingly forget mercies?

Gen. 40.23.
Psal 78.42. 10.21.
Ingratus est qui dissimulat, ingratior qui non reddit, ingratissimus omnium qui oblitus est. Sen. de Benef.

3. *Others*, though they take some notice of, and remember mercies and deliverances, yet *ascribe them to other things*, as the Heathens usually doe to their Idoll-gods. The *Philistines* ascribed their victories to *Dagon*. The *Syrians* to their Idoll *Rimmon* and *Remphan*, and *Israel* to the Queen and Host of heaven, and too many Christians to second causes and instruments, as wit, strength, policy, vigilancy, diligence, &c. yea to fortune and chance, a heathenish conceit, very unbeseeming Christians, yea, impious and dishonourable to God, robbing him of his glory in those things most commonly in which his wisedome, power and providence is most seen, and giving that to the creature, second causes and instruments, or Idol-fortune, chance or lucke that belongs to God only.

Judg 16.23.
1 King. 5.18.
Jer 44.17,18.

4. Many doe sleight and undervalue mercies and deliverances, accounting great mercies small, and small none, or not worth the taking notice of them, as *Hiram* did the Cities which *Salomon* gave him, and as *Lot* did *Zoar*, and *Israel* the pleasant land, and are often murmuring and repining, because mercies are not so great, and every way satisfying to our boundlesse, unsatiable desires: This is a great fault to undervalue, and much more

1 King. 9.12,13
Gen. 19.20.
Psal. 106.24.

more to repine and murmure at Gods mercies, eſpecially if great and extraordinary, as many of ours of late have been.

5. *There are ſome that are worſe then any of theſe, Who envy the mercies of Gods people,* repine at the goodneſſe of the Church, are grieved to ſee ſuch great things done as of late have bin done for *England* and that other Nation (bleſſed be God) and even gniſh their teeth at it, ſpeake contemptuouſly of what God hath done by the great Councell of the Land, yea, oppoſe and hinder what they can, ſeeke to undermine it and undoe all and bury the Churches mercies and hopes in the ruines of deſtruction, and that curſe when they ſhould bleſſe, and blaſpheme where they ſhould ſet up monuments to perpetuate the praiſes of God and the remembrance of his mercies: So eſpecially doth that wicked *Balaam* of *Rome* by his Buls and Excommunications, and his Abettours here. Such are in a fearfull condition, the good Lord open their eyes to ſee and conſider, and make uſe of that gracious and terrible ſpeech of God, comfortable to his people and terrible to their enemies, *Curſed be he that curſeth you, and bleſſed be he that bleſſeth you,* ſpoken indeed to *Jacob*, but in him to all the *Iſrael* of God, as it is applyed by him, whoſe eyes were open and ſaw the viſion of God. Gen 27.29. Num.24.9.

Secondly, *Whatſoever others doe or our ſelves have formerly done, yet let us now be hence convinced of our failings, be humbled for them, and excited to our duty, and that is,* *Uſe of Exhortation.*

1. *To give God the praiſe of all mercies and deliverances, and of all his Wondrous Workes.* God gives deliverance to his people that he may fill their hearts and mouthes with Songs of praiſe, and gives us a charge ſo to doe. *Call upon me in the time of trouble and I will deliver thee and thou ſhalt glorifie me. Sing unto him, ſing Pſalmes unto him, and talke of all his Wondrous Workes.* Pſal 50.15. 105.2.

2. *To praiſe* (Gods due and our duty for all his goodneſſe to us and his) *ioyne prayer to God for our ſelves and the Church,* that God would be pleaſed ſtill to goe on to doe us good, that God would accompliſh his worke and doe good unto *Zion*, and be favourable to *Ieruſalem*, ever watch over it, preſerve,

ſerve, ſupport, comfort it, and perfect his mercies, and evermore mightily defend it, that *Ieruſalem* may be the praiſe of the whole Earth, *Comely as* Tirzah (in reſpect of pure order and ordinances) *and terrible as an Army with banners*, to the enemies in reſpect of divine bleſſing and protection.

Cant 6.4.

To move us to thankfulneſſe, conſider theſe Motives,

Motives. 1. *The number, greatneſſe, variety, ſutableneſſe and continuance of Gods mercies and deliverances both perſonall and nationall, temporall and ſpirituall*: of which a touch hath bin given before. And ſurely the more, the greater and more excellent mercies are, the more they will affect and ſtirre the heart, if there be but a principle of common honeſty in it, and any notice taken of them.

2. Conſider *the affections of God the giver, which is to be preferred before a Parents.* Never was a Father nor a Mothers love (whoſe affections are uſually more tender) more to their child, then Gods is to his choſen. See *Iſa* 49.15. It is therefore ſet downe by way of admiration, *God ſo loved the world that he gave his onely begotten Sonne!* and *Behold what love the Father hath ſhewed unto us!* This conſideration and perſwaſion is very needfull; for unleſſe we be perſwaded and doe conſider, that what God doth for his people and for our ſelves in particular is not in wrath, as he ſometime gave *Iſrael* a King in his anger, and Quailes to murmuring *Iſrael*, but in mercy, out of love and for our good, we cannot be truely thankfull, we are more thankfull for a ſmall kindneſſe from him whom we know loveth us, then for a farre greater matter from him, of whoſe good affection towards us we have juſt cauſe to doubt: it is the perſwaſion of a kindneſſe and love in a benefactour that ſtirres up to thankfulneſſe, and when theſe meet together, that good turnes are great, many, ſutable to our condition and deſires, durable and out of love, and a man is perſwaded of this, then they affect the heart kindly.

Joh. 3.16.
1 Joh. 3.1.

3. Conſider *alſo the freeneſſe of God the giver*, that all mercies and deliverances are free and altogether undeſerved; He is not bound to us by way of deſert and debt, but of free promiſe, *We are all* (as was *Iacob*) *leſſe then the leaſt of all his*

Gen. 32.10.

his mercies; all is of meere grace and free favour. If we have but a bit of bread and cold water, it is free mercy, if more, it is his bounty, if nothing at all, if he give nothing, but take away all we have and puniſh us alſo for our ſins, he doth us no wrong, we have no cauſe to complaine, but to juſtifie the Lord. This is very conſiderable to move us to thankfulneſſe.

4. Conſider *our miſerable condition without theſe mercies*, which we may know, *carendo magis quam fruendo*, beſt by the want of them. Did we a while want health, ſtrength, liberty, meat, drinke, apparell or the like, we ſhould thinke our caſe ill. Were we turmoyled a while with civill warre (which God in mercy avert) as in *Germany* and *Ireland* at this day, where very many thouſands are already ſlaine, and they that ſurvive moſt of them have their goods ſpoyled, their houſes burnt, themſelves turned out naked very many of them; ſome have their husbands, ſome their ſonnes, barbarouſly murdered before their eyes; ſome their wives or daughters or both deſloured, ſhamefully abuſed, and afterward butchered by rude Souldiers; ſome women (as I remember) ript up alive; ſome have their fruit drop from them as they hang on the gallowes; ſome grievouſly mangled, and many other miſeries which they onely can beſt know that feele them, or are eye and ear-witneſſes of them.

But it is much worſe where a ſoule lyes under an accuſing, condemning, tormenting conſcience, wants and feeles the want of pardon of ſinne and Gods favour, this is the greateſt miſery. Thinke then what a piteous caſe you ſhould be in, were it thus with us, as undoubtedly it had bin before this, if our proud enemies had prevailed as they hoped and believed they ſhould doe, and are yet confident, yea if you want but outward mercies, as liberty, meat, drinke, *&c.* but a few dayes, and much more, if you want pardon of ſin, for which a conſcious ſinner would give all the world, and lye under a ſore wounded conſcience, and let the conſideration of the want of mercies make us truely thankfull for what we doe enjoy.

5. *Thinke alſo* (on the other-ſide) *what an happineſſe it is*

to

to enioy theſe mercies and deliverances, which we by the goodneſſe of God, and the wiſedome and care of the Parliament doe enjoy. Oh how happy would many a thouſand in *Germany* and *Ireland*, that are in extreame want, ready to periſh, thinke themſelves, did they enjoy the plenty we doe, or the fourth part of it, if they had but bread enough (though never ſo courſe) to put into their bellies: Or he that is extreame heart-ſicke, even ready to breathe out the laſt gaſpe, to have health: The poore wearied man with continuall frights, fears, alarums, and great dangers to enjoy peace: And ſo in other things, all which by the indulgent goodneſſe of God we doe yet enjoy: We were happy if we had eyes to ſee our owne mercies, and hearts to be truly thankfull for them: ſo a wounded conſcience that is grievouſly afflicted, if God would ſhew mercy, and ſpeak peace to the ſoule how happy would he thinke himſelfe. Let this conſideration move us to thankfulneſſe for what we doe enjoy.

6. *Conſider your future neceſſity*, though you be now in a plentiful and comfortable condition in all theſe reſpects, yet fore-think what may be, you doe not know how ſoone you may be in great want, or trouble or danger, in ſome extremity or other, what a day may bring forth; we are all tenants at will to God, and much of our future happineſſe ſtands on our preſent thankfulneſſe. Unthankfulneſſe, as it were, dries up the channell of Gods mercy and bounty, as the Eaſt winde did the Red Sea. All Rivers are from the Sea, and did they not pay their tribute backe againe to the Sea, very likely they would in time be dryed up, but they returne to the Sea againe, and ſo are continually fed by it. The way for us to have a continuance of Gods benefits, is to returne continuall praiſe and thanksgiving for the mercies we doe enjoy.

Neſcis quid ſerus vehat veſper.

Exod 14.21. Eccleſ 1.7.

7. *Looke backe and thinke* (how it may be) *thou didſt faſt and pray* (or if thou didſt not, thou art greatly to blame, not to labour and pray) for thoſe mercies and deliverances: ſo for particular mercies before thou hadſt them when thou waſt in want or in great feares. Well, were theſe mercies, this or that deliverance worth the praying, wreſtling and tugging for before, whilſt thou waſt in want or danger, didſt thou feele or feare ſome grievous evill, and is it not as worthy thanksgiving now thou haſt

haſt it ? This is juſt the caſe of the 9. *Leapers*, they cryed aloud for help, but when they were cured, they returned not to give thanks ; and the *Iſraelites* that cryed to God in their diſtreſſe, but were unthankfull for his benefits when they had them. A great ſhame it is we ſhould be ſo earneſt for a mercy or deliverance in our neceſſity, ſo open handed to receive, and ſo cloſe mouthed and ſtrait-hearted, when we have them, to returne ſomthing in way of thankfulneſſe. Luk 17 12,17. Pſal. 107. *Gratias agere Deo poſſumus referre non poſſumus* Aug in l. 1. 47.

8. This (namely Gods glory and praiſe) is the end of all his mercies, benefits and deliverances, and ſhould be the end of all our actions and ſervices. *God made all things (and doth all things to) for himſelfe.* All Agents worke to ſome end, and therefore God much more. Now he is the *beginning*, from which, and the utmoſt *end* to which all things tend, and ſhall God miſſe of his end, loſe his praiſe ? aſſuredly if he doe, he will be glorified, if not by us as active inſtruments of his glory ; yet in and upon us, as patients of his juſtice, for all our ingratitude, and the more and greater mercies we enjoy, the greater will be our condemnation if unthankfull. Prov. 16.4. Rom. 11.36. Luk. 17.18.

Laſtly (by way of motive, and which is ſpecially applicable to publike mercies) *Remember that publicke mercies are every mans private mercies*, every ones private good is wrapt up in the publik: If it goe well with the publicke, all fare the better for it, if evill, all ſhare in it; as in the body naturall, if the whole body be out of order, all the members ſuffer with it, if ſound and well, all the members ſimpathize with it ; and ſo it is in the body myſticall and politick, the Church & Common-wealth; therfore be thankfull for publicke mercies, as well, yea rather, and more then for private ; becauſe they doe concerne both our owne particular, and others good, whoſe welfare we ought heartily to deſire, pray for and rejoyce in, as fellow members of the body politicke and myſticall.

Q. But ſome ſay, What muſt I doe that I may be kindly affected with mercies and deliverances, and how may I continue the remembrance of them ?

Anſw. To the firſt, *to be kindly affected with mercies and deliverees*, doe 4. things :

1. *Take notice of all*, more eſpecially of more remarkeable,

ſpeciall and extraordinary mercies, ſupportment in, and deliverance out of troubles; for mercies that paſſe unobſerved cannot be thankfully acknowledged, much leſſe the remembrance of them perpetuated. And doe not onely obſerve them, but take a full view of them, how great, free, undeſerved and ſutable they are to our condition: for theſe conſiderations help much to affect the heart with them.

2. *Often meditate on them*, well weigh and ponder them, as the faithfull did, *Pſal* 48. *We have thought on thy loving kindneſſe, O God.* The word ſignifieth (as ſome have obſerved) as much as *aſſimulavimus, we have made an Image of it in our minds*, by ſerious pondering it hath made a deep impreſſion in our minds. The more a man doth meditate and roule any thing in his mind, the deeper impreſſion it makes, and the longer it continues; therefore labour to worke and imprint it on the heart by meditation. Pſal.48.9.

But looke not too much on thy afflictions and wants, or what others have which thou haſt not, but on Gods benefits and mercies received and promiſed, and on what thou haſt more then many others: For if a man be much poring on his wants and others fulneſſe, or the greater mercies that ſome others have, this will indiſpoſe a man to duty, dead the heart, beget diſcontent, and imbitter the ſoule; but the often remembrance of mercies received and promiſed, and ſpecially of what himſelfe hath, which ſuch and ſuch a man, and many others (far better) have not, will ſweeten the ſpirit, rejoyce the heart, quicken a man and put life into him, make him more apt and active feelingly to praiſe God for them, and performe any good duty; it is as *oyle* to all holy actions. Pſal.47.7.

3. *Labour the heart to have a ſenſe and feeling of the worth of them*, and to have an high eſteem and holy admiration of his mercies, as *David* had, *How great is thy goodneſſe?* by conſidering the greatneſſe, number, variety, the freeneſſe of his mercies, and continuance of them, alſo how happy we are with them, and how miſerable without them; for it is not the having, but the prizing and high eſteeming of a benefit that affects the heart and moves the will to thankfulneſſe.

4 *Labour to be ſtill poore in ſpirit*, and to be alwayes conſcious of thine owne unworthineſſe, that thou mayeſt know thy ſelfe

to

to be leſſe then the leaſt of all his mercies, as *Jacob* ſaid; for hunger is the beſt ſawce, it makes every thing reliſh well; every morſell ſeemes ſweet to the hungry ſoule: ſo poverty of ſpirit makes the leaſt mercy ſeem great; The poore hungry beggar takes the leaſt and worſt ſcraps thankfully, which a full ſoule rejecteth and ſcorneth: ſo a man that is poore in ſpirit hath a ſenſe of his owne unworthineſſe, meane conceits of himſelfe, is thankfull for every mercy, thinks every thing more then he deſerves, and all thankfulneſſe too little for what he hath already, and therefore ſtands admiring at great and extraordinary mercies. Gen. 32. 10.

To the ſecond I anſwer, That to continue the remembrance of ſpeciall mercies and deliverances, it will help much, and the godly have uſed,

1. *To write them down and ſet them upon record*, that they which lived after them might reade them, and be affected with them, and thankfull for them. To this purpoſe were the *Chronicles* of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* of old, and of the Chriſtians under the New Teſtament; even Heathens have ever uſed to doe thus, record ſpeciall mercies and deliverances, as we reade of *Ahaſuerus* his times in *Heſter*, of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and others. Heſt. 6. 1. Ezra 4. 15.

2. Tell them to your children, and charge them to tell them to their children. So we are commanded, *Only take heed to thy ſelfe* (ſaith *Moſes* to *Iſrael*) *that thou forget not the things which thine eyes have ſeen, but teach them thy children, ſpecially the day that thou ſtoodeſt before the Lord*, &c. And *David*, *Sing unto him, ſing Pſalmes, and talke of all his wondrous works*; and ſo the faithfull did, *Pſal* 44. Deut 4. 9, 10. Pſal. 105. 2.

3. *They may be continued*, and ſo the Saints have uſed to continue the remembrance of ſpeciall mercies. 1. *In the names of their children.* So was *Enoch*, *Moſes*, *Samuel* and many others named, and it was very uſuall to record ſpeciall paſſages of Gods providence to his Church in the names of their children, that their very name might put them and their children, and others alſo in mind of the thing.

2. In *the names of places*, where ſome notable mercy was received, or deliverance given. So *Abraham* here called the name of the place, *Jehovah-jirah*, i.e. *God will ſee or provide*: becauſe God there ſo unexpectedly provided for *Iſaacs* ſafety & deliverance, and a ram to be offered in his room, & *Jacob* called the place *Bethel*, *the houſe*

Gen.28.19. *house or place of Gods speciall presence*, because God there appeared to him.

3. *By setting up some pillar, heap of stones, or mark on the place*, as did *Jacob* and *Laban*, *Joshuah* and others; and therefore were
Gen.32.30. 31,48,49. *Peniel*, *Galeed*, *Mizpah*, and many other places so called.

4. Likwise, by *setting a marke on the time, and keeping a solemne anniversary feast on that day*, in memory of some speciall mercy,
Exod 12.11,14 Hest.9.26. as was the *Jewes* Pass over, dayes of *Purim* and others.

5. In *Songs and Psalmes*, as *Exod.*15. recording *Israels* deliverance from *Egypt*; and *Judg.*5. Gods mercy in saving and delivering them from *Jabin* King of *Canaan*.

6. In *Proverbs*, as here, *In the Mount of the Lord it shall be seen*. So often as this proverbe is mentioned, it puts us in mind of that marvellous and unexpected deliverance of *Isaac*, and provision of a Ram to be offered in his stead.

Thus should we doe upon like occasions. And thus by the good hand of God, we have seen Gods dealing with his people; his providence and wisedome in bringing them sometimes into troubles and extremities; his power and goodnesse in supporting them in, and delivering them out of troubles and exigents in the fittest time, and our duty that followeth thereupon, and use we are to make of such dealings and deliverances. which the good God effectually bow our hearts to performe upon all occasions, To whom be all honour, praise and dominion, in all the Assemblies of the Saints, in all places from henceforth, and for evermore. Amen.

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITAN

COurteous Reader. I *pray thee correct with thy pen these faults which have escaped in the Printing in some copies*, viz. Eng. [illegible] for [illegible], reade *Isaac*. p 9.l.36. for *fasten* r. *soften*. p. 10.l.9. for [illegible] p. 21.l.21. for *ignominy* r. *ignorance*. p 26.l 18. insert this word *beare*, and adde *out* to *with* p. 30.l 38. for *in* r. *be*. p 31 l.35. for *trust* r *rest*. p 45 l.33. insert *that* after the word extremities p 48 l. 4. add this 2. As God weakens strong means against his people, so he delivereth his own people by strengthning them, and that especially 2. wayes. p 48.l.9. for *Asia* r *Asa*, & l 30 for *wholy* r *help* p. 49 l 10. for *Saul* r. *Paul* p.50.l 11 r the *Philistines* to kill *Saul*. p.53 l 15. for *arms* r. *arme*. p.74.l.18. *make*: after *share* p.75.l.1. for *through* r. *though*. l. 18. for *put off* r *part*, and l.21 for *while* r. *retaile*.